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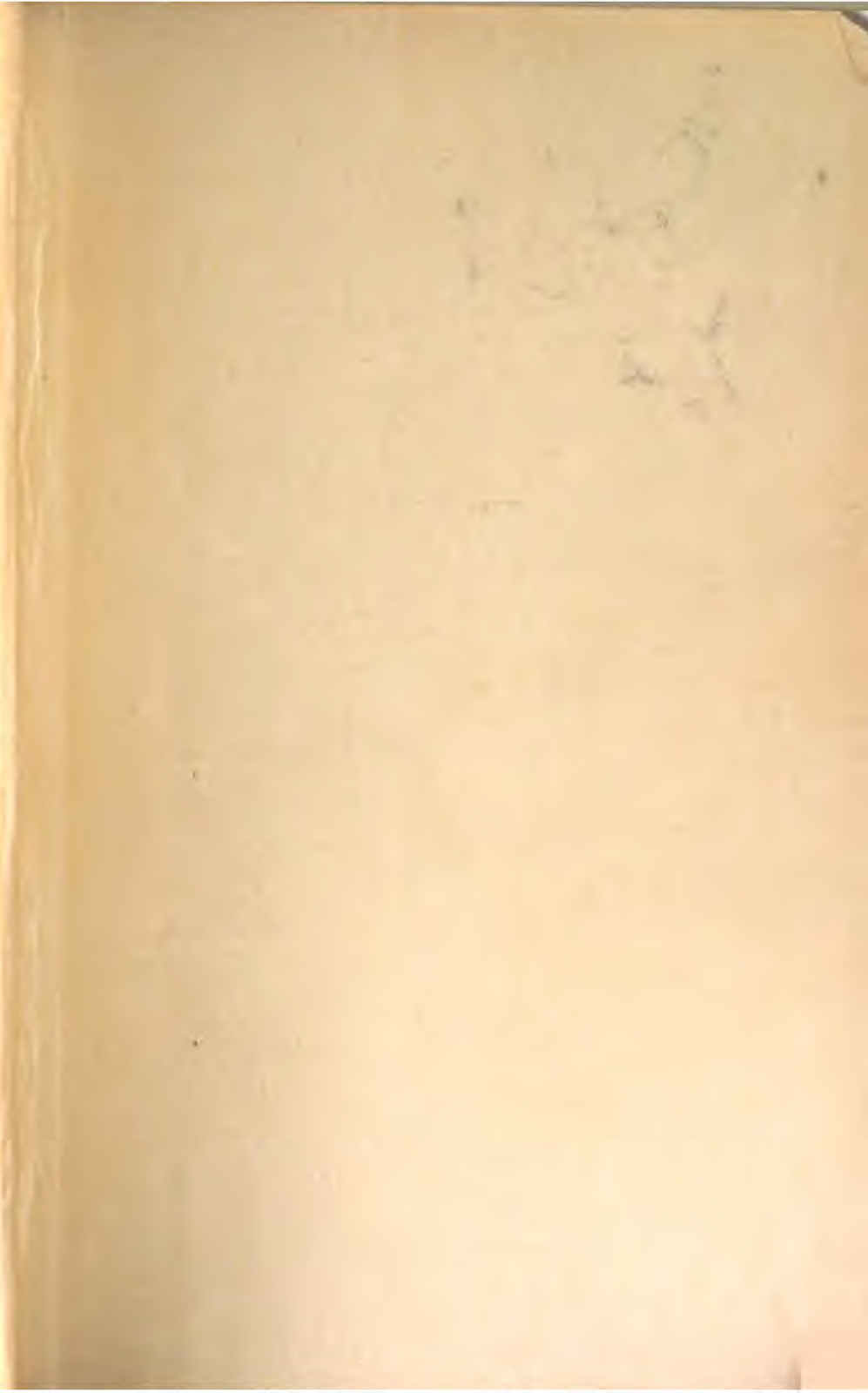
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===== GIFT OF =====

Dr. A. G. Kennedy

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Hoocleue's Works.

I. THE MINOR POEMS.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. LXI.

1892.

BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 13, UNTER DEN LINDEN.

NEW YORK: C. SCRIBNER & CO.; LEYPOLDT & HOLT.

PHILADELPHIA: J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

May 1892. For this year and 1893 the Original-Series Texts are now ready, and so are the Extra-Series Texts for 1892, and the first of those for 1893, while the second will be ready in a few months. **Members are asked to send their two-years' subscriptions for both Series at once.**

The second Extra-Series book for 1891 is also ready. It is No. LX, Dr. J. Schick's edition of Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*, with a full discussion and classification of its MSS., a chronological arrangement of all Lydgate's chief works, and some account of his best poem, still in MS., 'Reason and Sensuality.'

The Original-Series Texts for 1892 are:—No. 98, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Part I edited by Dr. Horstmann, and No. 99, Part VI of the *Cursor Mundi*,—the Preface by the Rev. Dr. R. Morris; an Essay on the Sources of the Poem by Dr. Haenisch; and a Glossary by Dr. Max Kaluza.

The Original-Series Texts for 1893 are:—No. 100, Capgrave's *Life of St. Katharine*, the text edited by Dr. C. Horstmann, with Forewords, side-notes, and a discussion of Chaucer's *gh* and Shakspeare's long *t*, by Dr. F. J. Furnivall; and No. 101, the *Cursor Mundi*, Part VII and last, an Essay on the MSS. of the Poem, their Dialects and Relation, &c., by Dr. H. Hupe.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1892 are:—No. LXI, Hoccleve's *Minor Poems I*, from the Phillips and Durham MSS., edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall; No. LXII, the *Chester Plays*, Part I, re-edited from the MSS. by the late Dr. Hermann Deimling.

Those for 1893 are:—1. Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi*, english: the first three books from the MS. in Trinity College Dublin, about 1440 A.D., and from Dr. Wm. Atkynson's version, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1502; and the fourth book by Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, Mother of Henry VII; the whole edited by Prof. J. K. Ingram, LL.D. 2. Dr. Mary N. Colvin's edition of Caxton's *Godfrey of Bologne*, or *Last Siege of Jerusalem*, A.D. 1481. This is all printed but the Notes and Glossary, and they are in the hands of the printers. Dr. Furnivall's edition of the *Lichfield Gilds* is also all printed, and waits only for the Introduction, which Prof. E. C. K. Gonner has kindly undertaken to write for the book.

The Original-Series Texts for 1894 and 1895 will be chosen from books already at press: Part II of the *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, edited by Dr. J. Kail; Richard Misyng's—he was Prior of Lincoln—englishings in 1434 and 1435 of Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Fire of Love* and *Mending of Life*, edited by Robert Harvey, M.A., Headmaster of the Cork Grammar School; Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrets of Philosoffres*, c. 1440, edited by Robert Steele, B.A.; Mr. Gollancz's re-edited *Keeler-Book*—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—Part I, of which the Text, with a modern englishing, has been long in type. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker has also in the press—333 pages of text stereotyped out of 352—a treatise perhaps more valuable for Dictionary purposes than any yet issued by the Society, an english *Lanfranc's Chirurgie*, about 1400 A.D., which takes up to Chaucer's death the whole class of surgical and medical words (besides many others of common speech) which we before had only from the black-letters of Queen Elizabeth's time. The Editor has collated the English text with its Latin; and he shows how largely our first printed *Anatomie* (Vicary's) is borrowed from it. Dr. Fleischhacker's illness drove him to the South last winter, but he hopes to be in England again in the summer, and then to finish his edition. Miss Pemberton has also sent to press her edition of the fragments of Queen Elizabeth's englishings (in the Record Office) from Boethius, Plutarch, &c. Prof. Napier has nearly ready a 12th-century Homily on the *Legend of the Holy Rood*, with an Introduction on the different Legends about it, together with an incomplete Chester *Hymn to the Virgin* of the 13th century, and a short Paper on the soft and hard *g*'s of the *Ormulum MS.*, with a facsimile. Prof. Mead has sent to press the completion of the prose *Merlin*, for which the Society has been looking in vain from its Treasurer since 1870. Mr. Utley is home from Roumania, and promises to finish *Lyndesay's Works* this year.

The Texts for the Extra Series in 1894 and 1895 will be chosen from the Parallel-Text of the only two MSS. of the *Owl and Nightingale*, edited by Mr. G. F. H. Sykes; the prose Romance of *Melusine*, edited from the unique MS. by Mr. A. K. Donald; Hoccleve's englishing of *De Regimine Principum*, 1411-12, edited by Dr. Furnivall; Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, three prose versions—two English, one French—edited by G. N. Currie, M.A. Some of these Texts will be ready in 1892. **Members are therefore asked to send Advance Subscriptions in 1892, for 1893, 1894, and 1895**, in order that the 1893-5 books may be issued to them as soon as the editions are finished. The Society's experience has shown that Editors must be taken when they are in the humour for work. All real Students and furtherers of the Society's purpose will be ready to push-on the issue of Texts. Those Members who care only a guinea a year (or can afford only that sum) for the history of our language and our nation's thought, will not be hurt by those who care more, getting their books in advance; on the contrary, they will be benefited, as each successive year's work

will then be ready for issue on New Year's Day. Members are asked to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years' work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years' work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finish all the Texts that the Society ought to print.

Mr. G. N. Currie is preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguillville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs's MS., Mr. Gibbs having generously promised to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS.

Guillaume de Deguillville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pelerinage de l'Homme* in 1330-1 when he was 36.¹ Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it, and this is the only one that has been printed. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330 1, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Univ. Coll. and Corpus Christi, Oxford²; and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740. A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John's Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited by Mr. Sidney J. Hertridge for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condensed and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library:³ "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World," copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy "was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655." This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim's Progress*. It will be edited by Mr. Currie for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Hertridge's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1464,⁴ Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguillville's first verse *Pelerinage* into a prose *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*.⁵ By the kindness of Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibbs, as above mentioned, Gallopes's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguillville's *Pelerinage de l'Homme*, A.D. 1355 or -6, was englished in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate's poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-308). This MS. leaves out Chaucer's englishing of Deguillville's *ABC* or *Prayer to the Virgin*, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro' the alphabet; and it has 2 gaps, of which most of the second can be filled up from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. The rest of the stopgaps must be got from the original French in Harleian 4399,⁶ and Additional 22,937⁷ and 25,594⁸ in the British Museum. Lydgate's version will be edited in due course for the Society.

Besides his first *Pelerinage de l'Homme* in its two versions, Deguillville wrote a second, "de l'ame separee du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Iesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Soule* (perhaps in part by Lydgate), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,⁹ at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of additions' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose englishing of the *Soule* will be edited for the Society after that of the *Man* is finished, and will have Gallopes's French opposite it, from Mr. Gibbs's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the *Pilgrimage of Jesus*, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his *Oldest English Texts* for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. Dr. Logeman then raised the question of how the other MSS. should be treated; and he was authorised to prepare a Parallel-Text edition of the first ten Psalms from all the MSS., to test whether the best way of printing them would be in one group, or in two—in each case giving parts of all the MSS. on one page—under their respective Roman and Gallican Latin originals. If collation proves that all the MSS. cannot go together on successive pages, there will be two Parallel-Texts,

¹ He was born about 1295. See Abbé Goussier's *Bibliothèque française*, Vol. IX. p. 72-4.—P. M.

² These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.

³ Another MS. is in the Pepys Library.

⁴ According to Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibbs's MS.

⁵ These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.

⁶ 15th cent., containing only the *Vie Humaine*.

⁷ 15th cent., containing all the 3 *Pilgrimages*, the 3rd being *Jesus Christ's*.

⁸ 14th cent., containing the *Vie Humaine* and the 2nd *Pilgrimage*, de l'Âme: both incomplete.

⁹ Ab. 1430, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny &c.—and damned souls, fires, angels &c.

one of the A.Sax. MSS. following the Roman version, and the other, of those glossing the Gallican; but every effort will be made to get the whole into one Parallel-Text. This Text will be an extravagance; but as the Society has not yet committed one in Anglo-Saxon, it will indulge in one now. And every student will rejoice at having the whole Psalter material before him in the most convenient form. Dr. Logeman and Mr. Harsley will be joint editors of the Parallel-Text. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of Prof. Arber, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints. Five of its 1866 Texts, and one of its 1867, still need reproducing. Donations for this purpose will be welcome. They should be paid to the Hon. Sec., Mr. W. A. Dalziel, 67 Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N.

Members are reminded that *fresh Subscribers are always wanted*, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English *Lives of Saints*, sooner or later. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found interesting incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthful for the history of our language. The Lives may be looked on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. The differences between the foundation MS. (the Laud 108) and its followers are so great, that, to prevent quite unwieldy collations, Dr. Horstmann decided that the Laud MS. must be printed alone, as the first of the Series of Saints' Lives. The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes.

Besides the Saints' Lives, Trevisa's englishing of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the mediæval Cyclopædia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker will edit it. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of *Ælfric's* prose,¹ Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of *Ælfric's* Metrical Homilies. Prof. Kölbing has also undertaken for the Society's Extra Series a Parallel-Text of all the six MSS. of the *Ancient Riwle*, one of the most important foundation-documents of Early English. Mr. Harvey, too, means to prepare an edition of the three MSS. of the *Earliest English Metrical Psalter*, one of which was edited by the late Mr. Stevenson for the Serjeants Society.

In case more Texts are ready at any time than can be paid for by the current year's income, they will be dated the next year, and issued in advance to such Members as will pay advance subscriptions. The 1886-7 delay in getting out Texts must not occur again, if it can possibly be avoided. The Director has in hand for future volunteer Editors copies of 2 or 3 MSS.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent under General Zupitza, Colonels Kölbing and Horstmann, volunteers Hausknecht, Einkenel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, &c. &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Dr. Erdmann; Holland, Dr. H. Logeman; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser;—Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; while America is represented by Prof. Child, Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Prof. Mead, Prof. Perrin, &c. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has cald forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

Of these, Mr. Harsley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the *Ælfric* Society, are still in stock.

(Of the Vercelli Homilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi.

ORIGINAL SERIES.

Half the Publications for 1866 (13, 14, 15, 18, 22) are out of print, but will be gradually reprinted. Subscribers who desire the issue for 1866 should send their guineas at once to the Hon. Secretary, in order that other Texts for 1866 may be sent to press.

The Publications for 1864-1893 (one guinea each year, save those for 1866 now half out of print, two guineas) are :—

1. Early English Alliterative Poems, ab. 1360 A.D., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 16s. 1864
2. Arthur, ab. 1440, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4s. "
3. Lancelot on the Dewtie of Kyngis, &c., 1556, ed. F. Hall, D.C.L. 4s. "
4. Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, ab. 1360, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. "
5. Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. 1865
6. Lancelot of the Laik, ab. 1500, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 8s. "
7. Genesis & Exodus, ab. 1250, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 8s. "
8. Morte Arthure, ab. 1440, ed. E. Brock. 7s. "
9. Thynne on Spoght's ed. of Chaucer, A.D. 1599, ed. Dr. G. Kingsley and Dr. F. J. Furnivall. 10s. "
10. Merlin, ab. 1440, Part I., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 2s. 6d. "
11. Lyndesay's Monarcho, &c., 1552, Part I., ed. J. Small, M.A. 3s. "
12. Wright's Chaste Wife, ab. 1462, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 1s. "
13. Sainte Marherete, 1200-1330, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne. 1866
14. Kyng Horn, Floris and Blanchefleur, &c., ed. Rev. J. R. Lumby, B.D. "
15. Political, Religious, and Love Poems, ed. F. J. Furnivall. "
16. The Book of Quinte Essence, ab. 1460-70, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s. [In print.] "
17. Parallel Extracts from 45 MSS. of Piers the Plowman, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 1s. [In print.] "
18. Hali Meidenhad, ab. 1300, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne. "
19. Lyndesay's Monarcho, &c., Part II., ed. J. Small, M.A. 3s. 6d. [In print.] "
20. Hampole's English Prose Treatises, ed. Rev. G. G. Perry. 1s. [In print.] "
21. Merlin, Part II., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. [In print.] "
22. Parthey or Lusignea, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. "
23. Dan Michel's Aynbite of Inwyrt, 1340, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. 6d. [In print.] "
24. Hymns to the Virgin and Christ; the Parliament of Devils, &c., ab. 1430, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1867
25. The Stations of Home, the Pilgrims' Sea-voyage, with Olene Maydenhod, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s. "
26. Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse, from R. Thornton's MS. (ab. 1440), ed. Rev. G. G. Perry. 2s. "
27. Levina's Manipulus Vocabulorum, a rhyming Dictionary, 1570, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 12s. "
28. William's Vision of Piers the Plowman, 1362 A.D.; Text A, Part I., ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 6s. "
29. Old English Homilies (ab. 1220-30 A.D.). Part I. Edited by Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 7s. "
30. Pierce the Ploughmans Orede, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 2s. "
31. Myro's Duties of a Parish Priest, in Verse, ab. 1420 A.D., ed. E. Peacock. 4s. 1868
32. Early English Meals and Manners: the Bokes of Nourture of John Russell, the Bokes of Karyunge, Courtaise, and Demeonor, the Babees Bock, Urbanitatis, &c., ed. F. J. Furnivall. 12s. "
33. The Knight de la Tour Landry, ab. 1440 A.D. A Book for Daughters, ed. T. Wright, M.A. 8s. "
34. Old English Homilies (before 1300 A.D.). Part II., ed. R. Morris, LL.D. 8s. "
35. Lyndesay's Works, Part III.: The Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum, ed. F. Hall. 2s. "
36. Merlin, Part III. Ed. H. B. Wheatley. On Arthurian Localities, by J. S. Stuart Glennie. 12s. 1869
37. Sir David Lyndesay's Works, Part IV., Ane Satyre of the Three Estaitis. Ed. F. Hall, D.C.L. 4s. "
38. William's Vision of Piers the Plowman, Part II. Text B. Ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 10s. 6d. "
39. Alliterative Romance of the Destruction of Troy. Ed. D. Donaldson & G. A. Pantton. Pt. I. 10s. 6d. "
40. English Gilds, their Statutes and Customs, 1389 A.D. Edit. Toulmin Smith and Lucy T. Smith, with an Essay on Gilds and Trades-Unions, by Dr. L. Brentano. 21s. 1870
41. William Lander's Minor Poems. Ed. F. J. Furnivall. 8s. "
42. Bernardus De Cura Rei Familiaris, Early Scottish Prophecies, &c. Ed. J. R. Lumby, M.A. 2s. "
43. Ratis Raving, and other Moral and Religious Pieces. Ed. J. R. Lumby, M.A. 3s. "
44. The Alliterative Romance of Joseph of Arimathea, or The Holy Grail: from the Vernon MS.; with W. de Worde's and Pynson's Lives of Joseph: ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 5s. 1871
45. King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, edited from 2 MSS., with an English translation, by Henry Sweet, Esq., B.A., Balliol College, Oxford. Part I. 10s. "
46. Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the Passion and Cross Poems, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. "
47. Sir David Lyndesay's Works, Part V., ed. Dr. J. A. H. Murray. 3s. "
48. The Times' Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., 1616; ed. by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6s. "
49. An Old English Miscellany, containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, and Religious Poems of the 13th cent., ed. from the MSS. by the Rev. R. Morris, LL.D. 10s. 1872
50. King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. H. Sweet, M.A. Part II. 10s. "
51. The Life of St Juliana, 2 versions, A.D. 1230, with translations; ed. T. O. Cockayne & E. Brock. 2s. "
52. Palladius on Husbandrie, englisht (ab. 1420 A.D.), ed. Rev. Barton Lodge, M.A. Part I. 10s. "

53. *Old-English Homilies*, Series II., and three Hymns to the Virgin and God, 13th-century, with the music to two of them, in old and modern notation; ed. Rev. R. Morris, LL.D. 8s. 1573
54. *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, Text C: *Richard the Redeles* (by William, the author of the *Vision*) and *The Crowned King*; Part III., ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 18s. "
55. *Geneseydes*, a Romance, ab. 1440 A.D., ed. W. Aldis Wright, M.A. Part I. 8s. "
56. *The Gost Hystories of the Destruction of Troy*, in alliterative verse; ed. by D. Donaldson, Esq., and the late Rev. G. A. Pantton. Part II. 10s. 6d. 1874
57. *The Early English Version of the "Cursor Mundi"*; in four Texts, edited by the Rev. R. Morris, M.A., LL.D. Part I, with 2 photolithographic facsimiles. 10s. 6d. "
58. *The Blickling Homilies*, 971 A.D., ed. Rev. R. Morris, LL.D. Part I. 8s. "
59. *The "Cursor Mundi"*, in four Texts, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. Part II. 15s. 1875
60. *Meditacyons on the Soper of our Lorde* (by Robert of Brunne), edited by J. M. Cowper. 2s. 6d. "
61. *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceuldoune*, from 5 MSS.; ed. Dr. J. A. H. Murray. 10s. 6d. "
62. *The "Cursor Mundi"*, in four Texts, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. Part III. 15s. 1876
63. *The Blickling Homilies*, 971 A.D., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. Part II. 7s. "
64. *Francis Thynne's Emblemes and Epigrams*, A.D. 1600, ed. F. J. Farnivall. 7s. "
65. *Be Domes Denge* (Bede's *De Die Judicii*), &c., ed. J. R. Lumby, B.D. 2s. "
66. *The "Cursor Mundi"*, in four Texts, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. Part IV., with 2 autotypes. 10s. 1877
67. *Notes on Piers Plowman*, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. Part I. 21s. "
68. *The "Cursor Mundi"*, in 4 Texts, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. Part V. 25s. 1878
69. *Adam Davie's 5 Dreams about Edward II.*, &c., ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 5s. "
70. *Geneseydes*, a Romance, ed. W. Aldis Wright, M.A. Part II. 4s. "
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| <p>§ 1. Hoccleve's Life and dated Poems,
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p. xxvii).</p> <p>§ 2. His Love of Chancer, p. xxx.</p> <p>§ 5. Text-copying, and Thanks to Helpers, p. xlv.</p> | <p>§ 3. His Patrons, Associates and Character, p. xxxiv.</p> <p>§ 4. Comments on some of his Poems, Metre and Language, p. xxxix.</p> |
|---|---|

HOCCLEVE must have got his name, says Mr. Kirk, from the pleasant village of Hockliffe in Bedfordshire,¹ on the Roman road, Watling St., $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. of Woburn, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ E. of Leighton Buzzard.²

¹ At Mr. Overend's suggestion, Mr. Kirk searcht the Subsidy Rolls. Those for Hoccleve's father's time seem to be lost, but earlier ones mention a Richard de Hoclyve, who may (or may not) have been the poet's grandfather.

Lay Subsidy Roll, Bedford, $\frac{1}{2}d$.

†3 Edw. II (July, 1309-10), Roll of a 25th granted to the King.

Hundred of Manshead. Hockelyve. (28 names.)

Of Richard de Hockelyve, 4s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}d$.

Of the Master of Hockelyve, 6s. 5d.

Sum of the whole township, 73s.

$\frac{1}{2}d$.

†8 Edw. II (July, 1314-15), Roll of a 20th and 15th granted to the King.

Township of Hoclyve.

Of the Hospital of Hoclyve, 6s. 6d.

Of Richard de Hoclyve, 5s. 6d.

38 names.

Sum of this township, 4l. 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}d$.

$\frac{1}{2}d$.

[10 Edw. II, July, 1316-17], Roll of a 16th granted to the King.

Township of Hoclyve.

Of the Master of the Hospital, 9s.

Of Richard de Hoclyve, 6s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}d$.

30 names.

Sum of the township, 4l. 1s. 10d.

$\frac{1}{2}d$.

6 Edw. III (no month), a 15th and a 10th. "Hoclyve."

Only 15 names. The Master of the Hospital is mentioned, but no surname of Hoclyve. Sum 26s. 6d.

On "Oocleve or Hocclif," Bedfordshire, Tanner says, *Vet. Mon.*, B 2, back), "Here was an hospital of a master and several brethren, as ancient as King John's Reign. It was dedicated to St. John Baptist." See too Dugdale, VI. ii. 753.

† No month given.

Mr. Stevenson suggests that Hoccleve must have been a West-countryman, as Cleves prevail in the West. We Thames folk know Cleve Lock and Mill

script. This document is presumed to belong to about the 9th or 10th Ric. II. (22 June, 1385, to 21 June, 1387), as Sir John Clanvowe, who is mentioned therein, was retained to serve in the King's expedition into Scotland in 1385, and is supposed to have died before April 1390.]

"Sensuent les nouns des personnes as quaux le Consail estoit accordez que briefs de liberate soient grantez pour les causes desouz expressees, sur les fees et annuitees a eux grantez et confermez . . .

Monsieur Johan Clanvowe	} Par cause quils furent ovesque le Roy en Escoce . . .
Monsieur Robert Whitteneye	
Monsieur Thomas Bret	
Thomas Hoccleve ¹	} Par cause quils sont clers en l'offise du prive seal. ²
Robert Frye	
Johan Hethe	
William Flete	

Hoccleve meant at first to be a priest³:—"I whilom thought Have ben a preest; now past is the raas." *De Reg.*, p. 52, l. 1147-8. He probably entered the Privy-Seal Office till he could get a benefice

¹ The payment to Hoccleve referred to in the Privy-Council proceedings has not been found in any of the rolls for 1385-7. It may have been of a similar nature to the payment made to the Chancery clerks in 1387, in the Pells Issue Rolls for Easter, 10 Ric. II.:—Payment to divers clerks of the Chancery of the King's gift, for their labour in copying Chancery enrolments and sending them to the Exchequer for execution.

The roll for Easter, 10 Ric. II. (A. D. 1387), contains a payment of 6l. 13s. 4d. to *Guy de Rochyff*, one of the clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, sent by order of the Lords of the Council as messenger to the King, "for certain matters touching the state of the King and the Kingdom."—R. G. Kirk.

² Mr. Kirk cannot find any entries relating to Hoccleve or his fellow-clerks in the Pells Issue Rolls of 1388-90, tho there are others relating to payments for parchment, to Chaucer, &c. :—

1388, Easter, 11 Ric. II. Payment to John Blyth (as below).

1388, Mich., 12 Ric. II. 20 October, Tuesday. To John Blyth, "pergame-narius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "as well for the office of the Privy Seal, as for the Great Exchequer and the Receipt thereof," &c., 10l. [This is probably the ". . . . Blith" mentioned in later entries. See Appendix].

1389, Easter, 12 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth and another, for parchment. Two Chaucer entries.

1389, Mich., 13 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

1390, Easter, 13 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

1390, Mich., 14 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

John Prophete (see p. xiv below, note 1) is described as "Clerk" only.

Payment to "the Clerks of the Chancery." (See also Easter, 11 Ric. II. They seem to have had occasional "*rewards*" in the same way as the Clerks in the Privy-Seal office).

³ Miss L. T. Smith says, in *Anglia* v. 15, that it may be concluded he was bred to the law. This was only because he livd in Chester's Inn.

promist him, and then meant to be ordaind and take the endowment. But no benefice came. Instead, after twelve years' office-work, Hoccleve got from Henry IV, on Nov. 12, 1399, (six weeks after his accession), the grant of £10 a year for life, or until the King should promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice, without cure of souls, worth £20 a year, in other words, quarter him on a convent¹ (see Appendix I). The first payment of this Annuity, to Michaelmas 1400, namely £8 15s. 3d., was made to Hoccleve on Dec. 13, 1400 (App. II). The Roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV, 1401, is missing, but no doubt the poet drew his half-yearly £5, as we know he did the payment due at Michaelmas (App. III). Then in 1402 he gets his Easter £5 on April 26 (App. IV a), but out of his Michaelmas money fifteenpence is deducted (App. IV b).

In 1402, Hoccleve wrote his *Letter of Cupid*, printed in some of the black-letter Works of Chaucer, and below, p. 72-91. He based it mainly on Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*,² the first poem in vol. ii of her Works just issued for 1891, by the Old French Text Society, p. 1-27, in 826 lines, and complained how in Albion, above all lands, men shamd tears and sighs to deceive women, and then forsook them. His date of the month of May for the poem is borrowd from Christine de Pisan: needless to say that he never alludes to her. (See Notes at the end of this volume.)

On Oct. 15, 1403, Hoccleve gets his Annuity only by giving up £1 of it to the King, and taking £9 for ten (App. V). Next half he is probably hard-up, as he draws his half-yearly Easter £5 on March 6, 1404 (App. VI). The Michaelmas-1404 and Easter-1405 Rolls contain no entry of payment to Hoccleve, and he may then have written his appeal to the Lord Chancellor, p. 58 below, for payment of his arrears; but he gets his £5 for Michaelmas 1405 and Easter 1406 (App. VII, VIII). On Aug. 14, 1406, he is paid £3 0s. 8d. for parchment, ink and red-wax that he'd bought of divers folk for work of the Privy-Seal Office (App. IX).

¹ Compare the case of Thomas Purde, one of the Privy-Seal Clerks in Henry VIII's reign, "21 May, 1509. For Thomas Purde. To have a pension which the late created abbot of the Monastery of Hyde is bound to give to a clerk of the King's nomination."—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, i. 12, no. 75.

² Prof. Paul Meyer told me this.

In the last quarter of 1406, our poet wrote *La Male Regle de T. Hoccleue*, p. 25-39 below, in which he begs my namesake "my lord the Fourneval . . . pat now is tresorer" to pay him his Michaelmas £5; he dares not ask for the arrears¹ due to him, p. 38, st. 53. In this poem Hoccleve also confesses his ill-regulated youth, and says that for twenty years past he had eaten and drunk outrageously,²—ever since he 'd been in the Privy-Seal Office, if not before,—had frequented wine-houses, gone after pretty girls at the Paul's Head Tavern,³ treated em to wine and wafers, and kist em, but hadn't "done the deed" (p. 28-30), owing, no doubt, to his cowardice, which he confesses made him keep quiet and out of rows. He was well known to the taverners and cooks at Westminster Gate, paid them whatever they askt, and was cald "a verray gentil-man" (p. 31). After eating and drinking there, instead of going back to the Privy-Seal Office, he 'd take a boat; and the boatmen fought for him because he always paid so well, and they cald him "Master" (or Squire), the name of a gentleman by birth or office, which tickled his vanity.

Hoccleve's appeal of 1406 to "my lord the Fourneval" seems to have produced £5 (App. X). On 12 July, 1407, Hoccleve gets his Easter £5 (App. XI), and on 15 July £3 6s. 8d., part of £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for parchment, ink and red wax (App. XII). But at Michaelmas, no pay is forthcoming, and so, on behalf of himself and his fellow-clerks, Baillay, Hethe⁴ and Offorde, Hoccleve writes to Sub-Treasurer Somer the Balade and Roundel on pages 59-60 below, praying him to get em their pay before Christmas. This pay seems to be for salaries, not annuities. But on 16 Jan., 1408, Hoccleve gets £4 3s. 2½d., the balance of the £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for 16

¹ As Hoccleve's side-note to his past year's dues is "Annus ille fuit restrictionis annuitatum," he probably refers to the Act of 7 Henry IV (A.D. 1405), ch. 16, entitled, "Annuities graunted by the King or his Ancestors of an older date shall be payed before them that were graunted of a later date."—Pulton, 268.

² This stanza (826) is quoted from a scribbled poem on a blank leaf of Register O of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in the 9th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 108, col. 1.

³ On its site, with that of Paul's Brewhouse, stood afterwards the St. Paul's Coffee-house, at the corner of the entrance from St. Paul's Churchyard to Doctors' Commons.—Cunningham.

⁴ See Hethe's name, p. x above.

§ 1. Hoccleve's fresh Pension. His "*Regement of Princes*" 1412. xiii

month's parchment, ink, and red wax (App. XIII); on 4 Feb., 1408, he is paid his half-yearly annuity of £5, due at Michaelmas, 1407. In 1408 Hoccleve also gets his Easter £5 on July 7 (App. XV), while his Michaelmas £5 is paid on Feb. 13, 1409 (App. XVI). In 1409 he surrenders his Annuity of £10, and on May 17 has a fresh grant of an Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. from Michaelmas, 1408 (App. XVII). Six days after, on May 23, he gets his first half-yearly Easter payment of his increast annuity, £6 13s. 4d. (App. XVIII), and the like sum for Michaelmas, on Nov. 22, 1409 (App. XIX).

A few days before May 1, 1410,¹ if I read the lines aright, Hoccleve writes a chirpy poem to Somer,—then Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer,—from their Temple² Club, "the Court of good Company," p. 64-6 below, reminding him that he was to give em a good dinner on May-day, and had promist them £2 to buy flour or wheat. On June 23, 1410, Hoccleve is paid 22s. 2d. for 14 month's ink, parchment and red wax (App. XX); on the following July 17 he gets his Easter £6 13s. 4d., but no payment is made to him for Michaelmas (App. XXI), till July 8, 1411, when he gets his overdue £6 13s. 4d. (App. XXII). On 26 Feb., 1412, his annuity for the whole year 1411 is paid to him (App. XXIII). The Roll for Easter, 1412, is missing, and no payment to Hoccleve is on the Michaelmas Roll. So it was doubtless in 1412 that he wrote his *Regement of Princes*, or *De Regimine Principum*, to Henry, Prince of Wales, who became King Henry V on 21 March, 1413. On Nov. 5, 1412, Hoccleve is paid 32s. for parchment and ink (App. XXIV), by the hands of John Welde, afterwards his clerk.

La Male Regle of 1406 records Hoccleve's fast life. His larks, of course, required a good income, and he seems at one time to have had

¹ The date is settled in this way. The Club dinner is to be on Thursday, May 1. I ask Prof. Skeat if he can tell me in what year, after 1408, May 1 falls on Thursday; and he answers, "Yes, certainly! The Prayer-book Calendar marks May 1 as *b*. Let this be Thursday. Then *c* = Friday, *d* = Saturday, and *e* = Sunday. So the Sunday-letter is E.

The tables of years for which E is the Sunday-letter include 1410, 1421, 1427, 1432, 1438, 1449, and 1455. You can take your pick: 1410 looks probable.

Yours ever, W. W. SKEAT."

² Probably the Middle Temple, to which Chester's Inn, where Hoccleve livd, belongd. See Note, p. xviii below.

private means—see the extracts below;—but even in 1406 his “rentes annuel” “too scarce been, greet costes to susteene,” 36/361-2 below; the return from his “manuel labour” can be hardly seen or felt; and by 1411-12, he tells us three times over in his *Regement*, that (besides his annuity) his income is but six marks, £4, a year (34/935, 36/974, 44/1217). This £4 must have included both his rents—if he had any left—and his salary from the Privy Seal. The Chief of the Office¹ probably paid his clerks himself, out of his 20s.

¹ In the earlier entries in vol. i. of the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, the name of “le gardein de notre prive seal” is not given. Those named afterwards—but who may have been appointed earlier,—are, in 1402, April 2. Thomas Langley, Keeper of the Privy Seal.—*ib.* i. 188.

1407, Nov. 16. John Prophete¹ (i. 300-1, “Maist . . . Prophete, gardein de notre prive [seal]”; ii. 79, “John Prophete, Secretaire du Roya, notre souverain seigneure”; Sec. to the King in Sept. 1402.—*ib.* 78).²

1417, Feb. 15. H. Ware (ii. 204: Feb. 15, 4 Hen. V, “H. Ware, custode privati sigilli.”)

1421, July 1. John Stafford (ii. 287; 1 Hen. VI, vi. 344), and till 1422, Dec. 16 (iii. 8).

1422, Dec. 16. William Alnewyke (iii. 8), and on 16 July, 1424 (vi. 346), and on 14 March, 1426 (vi. 348). Also frequently after he was Bp. of Norwich, as 10 March, 1427, “*Episcopus Norwicensis, custos privati sigilli*” (iii. 255), and in 1429 (iii. 426), &c.

1434. William Lyndewode (iv. 202, “*custos privati sigilli*”) and “*utriusque juris doctor*,” iv. 69. (When secondary in the Privy-Seal Office, he had £40 a year, with clothing, furs and lining: see in v. 150-1 the Petition to the King, June 3, 19 Hen. VI, A.D. 1441, of “your poevere clerc, Adam Moleyns, secondary in y^e office of your prive seal, for such yerly reward and clothing for y^e said office . . . as was paid and delivered to Maister William Lyndewode, late secondary in y^e said office . . . in monnaye to be understande xl. ti. and clothing, furrur and lynnyng as y^e said William Lyndewode receyved.”)

1437. Thomas Beckington (v. 13, 313, “Th. Bekyngton . . . *Custos privati sigilli*”; 335 (A.D. 1439, “Thomas Bekynton, legum doctor, Regis secretarius”); 387 (A.D. 1439, “Bekynton, secretario”); 350 (A.D. 1439, “Thome Bekynton, legum doctoris”), &c.

1441. Adam Moleyns (v. 151, “*Rex mandavit Custodi privati sigilli sui ut acceptaret Adam Moleyns, clericum, tunc consilii sui secundarium officii, custodiae privati sigilli, prout et diu Custos fuit antequam in custodia ejusdem privati sigilli sui fuit assumptus; recipiendo . . . xl ti singulis annis.*”) &c.

1444. Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath (vi. 24; Feb. 1, 22 Hen. VI: “Your humble chapellain, Thomas, bishop of Bath, keper of youre prive seal” [Adam Moleyns was present at the Council on Jan. 26.—*ibid.*])

1446. Bishop of Winchester (so Index, vi. 408: vi. 51, July 24, Hen. VI: “my Lord of Chichestre, keper of his prive seal”).

1450. Andrew Holes (vi. 93: May 17, 28 Hen. VI: “To our right trusty and welbeloved clerc, Maister Andrew Holes, keper of oure prive seal”).

For particulars respecting the Privy Seal Office, says Mr. Kirk, see the

¹ He had 20s. a day.

² “Maister John Prophete was appointed *Keeper of the Privy Seal* on 4 October, 8 Henry IV., 1406. See Issue Roll for Easter, 8 Hen. IV. Previously he was described as follows:—(1400). Mich. 2 Hen. IV. He is called Dean of Hereford, and had been ‘retained’ as one of the King’s councillors.

(1405). Mich. 7 Hen. IV. John Prophet or Profyt, clerk, the King’s Secretary.”—R. G. Kirk.

§ 1. *Hoccleve's Life. His Marriage. Waste in Youth.* xv

a day, as little as he could: no payment of salary to Hoccleve, or any of the fellow-clerks he names, is on the Issue Rolls. At any rate, whatever money he had, he spent on drinking, stuffing, and girls; and then, as no benefice or corody was given him, he tired of waiting for it, and drifted into marriage:

Harl. 4866, ff. 26, bk.
 I gasyd longē firste, & waytid faste 1451
 After some benefice, and whan non cam,
 By proces I me weddid¹ attē laste.
 And, God it wot, it sorē me agaste 1454
 To byndē me / where I was at my large;
 But done it was: I toke on me þat charge.
 ed. Wright, p. 53, st. 208, l. 1456.

He married for love, not money (*Reg.* 56/1559-61), and after his "skittish youth" (as the old Beggar terms his own gay time, *Reg.* 22/590) settled down into poverty and sad old age: no more treating and kissing the pretty plump girls at the Paul's Head.

Here is the account he gives of his prodigality in youth, p. 156-7:

Harl. 486, ff. 76, bk. st. 623, p. 156, ed. Wright.
 A-mong foliēs alle, is non, I leue, 4355
 More þan a² man his gode ful largely
 Despende, in hopē³ men wol hym releeve.
 Whan his gode is despendid vtterly,⁴
 The indigent, men settē no thyng by. 4359
 I, Hoccleue, in swich case⁵ am gilty,—þis me
 touchith,—
 So seith pouert, which oon foole large him vouchith.

No folly is
 greater than
 for a man to
 spend largely,
 in hope that
 his donees 'll
 relieve him
 when he's
 poor.
 I did this.

st. 624, p. 157.
 For þogh I neuer were of hy degree, 4362
 Ne had[de] mochil gode, ne gret richesse,
 3it hath þe vice of prodigalite
 Smered me sore, & done me hevynesse.
 He þat but litil hath, may done excesse 4366
 In his degree, as wel as may þe riche,
 Thogh hir dispenses werē nat ylyche.⁶ 4368

Tho' I never
 had much,
 yet I was
 prodigal.

Deputy Keeper's Reports, II. 33, 34, 70; the Guide to the Public Records, by S. R. Bird; the Report of the Record Commissioners, 1837, &c. The office of Clerks of the Privy Seal was abolished by Act of 14 and 15 Victoria, c. 82. (See Deputy Keeper's Reports, XIII. 4.)

¹ I weddede me, *Reg.* ² a *Reg.* om. H. ³ hop H, hope *Reg.* ⁴ MS. viterly.
⁵ swich a case H, suchē case *Reg.* ⁶ lyche H, glyche *Reg.*

	st. 625.	
I open my purse	So haue I plukkid at my purses ¹ strynges,	4369
till it was empty;	And made hem often for to ² gape and gane,	
and I shall get nothing unless you, O Prince, give it me.	þat his smal stuf hath take hym to his wynges, And hath I-sworne ³ to be my welthes baue, But if releef a-way my sorwe ⁴ plane;	4373
	And whens it comē shal, can I nought gesse, Mi lorde, but it procede of your hynesse,	4375
	st. 626.	
I repent my minguided life.	I me repente of my mysrewly ⁵ lyfe :	4376
	Wherfor, in þe wey of savacioñ	
	I hope I be ; my dotage excessyfe	
	Hath put me to swich castigacioñ,	
If I can get help, I shall thrive for the first tyme.	þat indigence hath dominacioñ	4380
	On me / O, had I help, now wold I þryue ;	
	And so ne did I neuer ⁶ ȝit in my lyue.	4382
	st. 627.	
My annuity	My yeerly guerdon, myn annuite, (ll. 77)	4383
	That was me graunted for my long labour,	
is in arrear ; I can't get paid.	Is al behynde ; I may noht payed be ;	
O, Prince,	Whiche causeth me to lyue[n] in langour.	
	O liberal prince, ensample of honour,	4387
	Vn-to your gracē lyke it to promoote	
relieve me!	Mi poore estat, ⁷ and to my woo beth boote.	4389
	st. 628.	
	And, worpy prince, at Cristes reuerence,	4390
	Herkeneth what I schal seyn, and be ⁸ noht greued,	
	But lat me stande in your beneuolence ;	
	For if myn hertes wil wiste were and preeued,	
I desire your well-being, and your soul's health too.	How you to loue it stired is and meeved,	4394
	Ye shulden knowe / Y your honour and welþe,	
	Triste ⁹ and desire, and eek your soules helþe, &c.	4396

Over his writing or copying work, Hoccleve groans to his old Beggar, *De Reg.*, p. 36-7 :

	Harl. 4866, lf. 18, bk. st. 142.	
Many think copying isn't hard work.	¶ Many men, fadir, wenen þat writyng No trauaile is / þei hold it but a game :—	988

¹ purs H, purses Reg. ² for H, for to Reg. ³ sworne Reg. ⁴ my sorwe away Reg. ⁵ myreuled Reg. ⁶ *Read* never as ue'er. ⁷ Hoccleve's moral for the Prince, on not being paid, is that when he becomes King, he shouldn't (like his Father, understood) grant Annuities unless he's sure he can pay em ; for retraction of payment kindles the hate of subjects. He'd better not grant any pensions at all, than fail to pay em, p. 172, st. 685-7, l. 4789-4809. There's a good bit of advice in l. 4893, p. 175, "No disdayne have of the poores sentence (opinion)." ⁸ beth Reg. ⁹ Thurst Reg.

- Aart hath no foo, but swich folk vnkonyng:—
 But who-so list disport hym in þat same,
 Let hym continue, and he shal fynd it grame: 992 Just let 'em
 It is wel gretter labour þan it seemeth; have a good
 þe blyndē man of coloures al¹ wrong deemeth. 994 turn at it!
- st. 143.
- ¶ A writer mot thre thynges to hym knytte, 995 A copier must
 And in tho may be no disseuerance; always
 Mynde / ee² / and hand / non may fro othir flitte, work mind,
 But in hem mot be ioynt contynuaunce. eye, and hand
 The mynd, al hoole with-outen variance, 999 together.
 On þe ee³ and hand / awaytē mot alway,
 And þei two eek on hym; it is no nay. 1001
- st. 144, p. 37.
- ¶ Who-so schal wrytē, may nat holde a tale 1002 He can't talk
 With hym and hym / ne syngē⁴ this ne that; to other folk,
 But alle his wittes grete and smale or sing,
 Ther must appere, and halden⁵ hem ther-at, but must give
 And syn he speke⁶ may, ne syngē nat, all his wittes to
 But bothē⁷ two he nedēs moot forbere: his work. 1006
 His⁸ labour to hym is the alengere.⁹ 1008
- st. 145.
- ¶ Thise¹⁰ artificers, se I day be day, 1009 Workmen
 In þe hotteste of al her¹¹ bysynesse,
 Talken and syngē,¹² and makē game and play talk, sing,
 And forth hir labour¹³ passith with gladnesse; and lark.
 But we laboure¹⁴ in traueillous stilnesse; 1013 We labour in
 We stowpe and stare vpon þe shepēs skyn, silence;
 And keepē muste our song and¹⁵ wordēs in. stoop and
 1015 stare on the
 sheepkin.
- st. 146.
- ¶ Wrytyng also doth grete annoyēs thre. 1016 Our copying
 Of which ful fewē folkēs¹⁵ taken heede
 Sauē we oure self; and piȝē, lo, þei be:
 Stomak is on, whom stowpyng out of dreede
 Annoyeth soore, and to our bakkes neede 1020 hurts our
 Mot it be greuous; and þe thrid, our yen,¹⁶ stomachs,
 Vp-on the whytē mochel for to dryen. 1022 our backs
 and our eyes.
- st. 147.
- ¶ What man þat þre and twenti¹⁷ yere and more 1023 Any one
 In wrytyng hath continued, as haue I, who's copied
 for 20 years,

¹ Reg. omits 'al.' ² eye Reg. ³ On eye Reg. ⁴ syngē Reg., syng H.
⁵ holde Reg. ⁶ setthe speke he ne. ⁷ both H, bothe Reg. ⁸ Hir Reg., His H.
⁹ elengeer Reg. ¹⁰ This H. ¹¹ for H. ¹² syngē Reg., syng H. ¹³ labure H,
 labourer Reg. ¹⁴ and our Reg. ¹⁵ om. folkes Reg. ¹⁶ eyen Reg. ¹⁷ MS.
 xxijth H, twenty Reg.

xviii § 1. *Hoccle's Life. His Dread of Poverty. At Chester's Inn.*

like I have,
a sene for it
in every bit
of his body.
I dar wel sayn it smerteth¹ hym ful sore
In every² veyne and place of his body ;
And yen³ most it greueeth trewely 1027
Of any crafte þat man can ymagyne :
Fadir, in feith,⁴ it spilt⁵ hath wel ny myne.⁶ 1029

It's nearly
done for me.

In like wise, Hoccleve says to the old Beggar, *De Reg.*, p. 35 :

st. 138 (Harl. 4866).
Had I al-
ways livd in
poverty,
If þat I hadde of custome, or þis tyme, 960
Lyued in indigences⁷ wrecchednesse,
The lesse heer-after schuld I sette⁸ by me ;
But in myn agē wrastle with⁹ hardnesse,
That with hym stroglið¹⁰ neuere in greennesse 964
Of youth,—þat mutacion and chaunge
An-othir day me seemē shulde al straunge. 966

I shoulde
not feel it so
much now ;
but the
change is
strange.

st. 139.
He þat neuere knewe swetnesse of wele, 967
Though he it lakke ay / lesse hym greue it shal,
Than hym þat hath ben weleful yeeris¹¹ fele,
And in effect hath felt no greef at al.
O pouert, God me sheldē fro thy fal ! 971
O deth, thy strok is more agreable
To me þan lyue a lyf so miserable.¹² 973

God keep me
from poverty !
I'd sooner
die than live
miserably.

In the *De Regimine* (A.D. 1411-12) Hoccleve tells us that he livd at Chester's Inn in the Strand,¹³ where he also was, I suppose, as a

¹ smerteth Reg., smerth H. ² euere H, euery Reg. ³ than H. ⁴ feth H, feith Reg. ⁵ sete Reg. ⁶ me Reg. ⁷ indigence and Reg. ⁸ sette Reg., sit H. ⁹ in Reg. ¹⁰ neuere stroglið Reg. ¹¹ wele many yeres Reg. ¹² So again on p. 65, st. 259, l. 1811-13 :

Wold honest dethe come, and me overterve,
And of my gravē me putte in seisyne,
To all my greef that were a medieyne.

¹³ On Chester's Inn, on part of the site of Somerset House, Strand, where Hoccleve and his wife livd in 1411-12, Sir George Buck, in his Appendix to the 1615 edition of Stow's *Annales*, says, when writing of the Third University, London, p. 477 :—

“Of Strand Inne, and of the Studies of these Innes of Chauncery, cap. 25.

“There was also another Inne of Chauncery in the Strand, called *Chester Inne*, or *Strand Inne*, which, together with the houses of the Bishops of Chester, of Worcester, and of Landaffe, and the Church of S. Mary in the Strand, were all in the yeere of our Lorde MDXXXIX swallowed vp in the foundation of the goodly palace built by the Duke of Somerset, Uncle Maternell to K. Edward the 6. and thus much for the foundation and institution of these Innes of Chauncery. For the other matters belonging vnto them, I am able to say by mine owne experience, that in these houses of Chauncery liue and common together, Attornies, Solliciters, and Clarks belonging to the Courts, as well of mere and strict law, as of equitie and conscience. The chiefe or gouernour in euery Inne of these Innes of Chauncery, is called Principall. And in these

bachelor, handy for his Club in the Temple, for John Carpenter,—both before and after he was Town-Clerk of London,—and for City life in general, which he must have given up when he ranged himself, and settled into a poor married man.

Then if we put Hoccleve's marriage and start of post-Club life in 1410-11, we have our rake as a teacher, philosopher and reformer, in the *De Regimine*¹ in 1411-12, and the Balades at p. 61 below, to

houses or colleges the Tyrones and young Gentlemen, at their comming vp are initiated to make first here an essay and a triall of the studie of the Law, which if they like, and haue a desire to proceed, they remoue shortly after to one of the Innes of Court, whereunto that house of Chauncery belongeth: for he can take no degrees in an Inne of Chauncery but such as I here last named, which bee rather seruiCES and procurations than aduancements and honors. Euery Inne of Court hath two or three Innes of Chauncery belonging vnto it, viz. to the middle Temple belong New Inne, and sometimes [formerly] *Strand Inne*. To the inner Temple belong Cliffords Inne, Lyons Inne, and Clements Inne. Thawies Inne and Furniuals Inne are members of Lincolns Inne. Staple Inne and Barnards Inne belong to Grayes Inne." . . .

Hoccleve speaks twice of his home as a "pore cote:" *De Reg.* 31/845, 34/940.

¹ The late Thomas Wright says in his Preface to his edition of *De Regimine* for the Roxburghe Club, 1860, p. xiii.-xiv.: "Occeleve tells us that he compiled his treatise *De Regimine Principum* from three works which were very celebrated in his time. These were, in the first place, the supposititious epistle of Aristotle, addressed to Alexander the Great, and known by the title of *Secretum Secretorum*; secondly, the book of *Egidius de Columna* or Colonna, entitled *De Regimine Principum*, and of which Occeleve speaks as 'Gyles of Regement of Princes'; and lastly the well-known work of Jacobus de Cessolis, or Jacques de Cessoles, entitled the 'Game of Chess Moralized,' of which Caxton's celebrated book, 'The Game of the Chess,' was a translation through the French." After the Proem, and the long account of himself by the old Beggar who advises and tells his story to Hoccleve, the poet, says Mr. Wright, "in his introductory part, complains of the neglect which was shown in his time to the old soldiers of the French wars of the preceding century (p. 32); of the great prevalence of covetousness among the gentry (p. 43); of the eagerness of the churchmen after rich benefices, and of the prevalence of pluralism and absenteeism (p. 51); of the mischievous influence of the aristocracy in the courts of law (p. 54); of the evil practice of betrothing children in their infancy (p. 59); and of the frequency of adultery (p. 64). When he enters upon the subject of his book, he complains of the want of truthfulness among the knights of his time (p. 82), and of the absence of righteousness in England (p. 89); he urges the prince [after, Henry V] to obey the laws when he should have become king, as one of the principal duties of royalty, and complains that in England the laws were neglected, and feuds and outrages passed unpunished. Poor men could get no justice, while rich men committed crimes with impunity (p. 102). He especially urges the prince as king to protect the free election of the bishops in the cathedral churches (p. 104). In treating of Pity he condemns the practice of granting pardons for offences, giving an illustrative anecdote of a king of 'this land'

the Prince of Wales, and p. 56-7 to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. On March 21, 1412-13, the day of Henry V's accession, when the English lords did homage to him at Kennington, Hoccleve appears as a champion of orthodoxy and the Church, and writes the King the Balade on p. 39-40, exhorting him to be just, to govern with equity, and strengthen his Mother, Holy Church, by driving out heresy. Early in 1413 also comes the Balade on p. 47-8, about Henry V's enmity to Heresy, and his having Richard II's bones buried next to his Queen's in Westminster Abbey, one of the first things that the new King ordered to be done. On Sept. 28, 1413, Hoccleve got an Inspecimus and Confirmation by Henry V of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d.,—provided he should not be retained by any one else,—and a grant of his arrears from Michaelmas 1412 (App. XXV). Moreover, three days after, on Dec. 1, 1413, this year's arrears were paid to Hoccleve (App. XXVI). In 1414, he has a clerk, John Welde, and by his hands gets £1 6s. 8d. for 9 months' parchment, ink and red wax on Jan. 17 (App. XXVII); and on May 2 his Easter £6 13s. 4d. (App. XXVIII), but his Michaelmas one seems not to have been paid. For 1415 both his half-yearly instalments were paid, the second on Feb. 29, 1416 (App. XXIX, XXX).

On Aug. 13, 1415, when Henry V. took ship for Harfleur, on his Agincourt campaign, Hoccleve wrote, or began, his Remonstrance with Oldcastle, p. 8-24, reproaching him for having left the Faith, for being God's foe 9/27, for having sold his soul to the Devil 10/61; bidding him return to God 16/248, praying God for him 16/265, damning to hell the heretics who 'd misled him, p. 17,

(p. 112), and advocates the punishment of death (p. 114). In the chapter on Mercy (p. 119), Hoccleve commends the merciful dispositions of John of Gaunt and his son Henry IV (p. 120). And in treating of 'largesse' and avarice, he speaks again of his own youthful prodigality, and repeats his appeal for the payment of his annuity (p. 156). He complains of the absence of liberality among lords in his time (p. 168). In speaking of Prudence, he counsels the prince, still with an eye to his own grievance, not to grant pensions unless he intends to pay them (p. 172). And, in his last chapter, when treating of Peace, he alludes to the troubles in England (p. 187); complains how unworthy people were promoted in the world before those who were worthy, while the deserving 'clerkes' of Oxford and Cambridge were neglected (p. 187); describes the melancholy state of France (p. 190); and deprecates the hostility between France and England (p. 193).

st. 35, hoping they'll be burnt here, 18/320; arguing Popish doctrines with them and calling them asses, 19/352; denouncing their rising in St. Giles's Fields in Jan. 1414, p. 20, st. 49, defending images, p. 21, rebuking communism, p. 22, st. 57-8, declaring that the orthodox 'll go to Heaven, the heretics to Hell, p. 23, st. 60, shaming Oldcastle for not fighting by Henry's side in France, p. 24, st. 63, and appealing to him to flee the Devil and humble himself to Henry V, p. 24, st. 64.

As the Balade to Henry V, on p. 62 below, begins "Victorious Kyng," I incline to put it late in 1415 or in 1416, after Henry's return to England from Agincourt. In it Hoccleve refers to a "bill" or petition by himself and two fellow-clerks—not three, as before 1408, p. 60, l. 25-6—for money for their "ful laborious" and "long service," 62/15—16, and says that if the King doesn't give em something, poverty will compel "us three to trotte vnto Newgate." It is curious that Hoccleve's 1416-Easter £6 13s. 4d. is paid to him on July 8 by three instalments thro friends,—had he borrowd from any of them?—£2 thro Jn. Burgh,¹ 6s. 8d. thro Robert Welton, and £4 6s. 8d. thro Jn. Welde, Hoccleve's clerk. Moreover, he gets 13s. 4d. as a loan from the Treasury (App. XXXI).

On Feb. 14, 1417, Hoccleve was paid, thro his clerk John Welde, £2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax, bought of Wm. Lucy (App. XXXII).

His 1416-Michaelmas £6 13s. 4d. is paid him on March 13, 1417 (App. XXXIII), and his 1417-Easter one on May 25, 1417 (App. XXXIV). His Michaelmas payment he takes in two instalments of £3 6s. 8d. each, on Nov. 30, 1417, and Feb. 10, 1418 (App. XXXV). In 1418, 1419, 1420, and 1421, the half-yearly payments of his Annuity are duly made within each year (App. XXXVI-VIII, XL-XLIV), and on July 10, 1419, he gets 12s. 2d. for 16 months' ink and red wax (App. XXXIX).

Yet though he was drawing his Annuity regularly during these five years 1416-21,—and "by his own hands" on 13 March and 30

¹ Was this a relative of the Benedict Burgh who finisht Lydgate's verse englishing of the *Secreta Secretorum*, now in the press for the E. E. T. Soc., edited by Mr. R. Steele of Bedford?

Nov. 1417, 8 July 1419, 17 June and 26 Nov. 1420, and 5 July and 11 Nov. 1421,—Hoccleve, poor old fellow, tells us in his pitiful *Complaint*, p. 89-106 below, written in November 1421, as I suppose, or early in 1422, how he went mad five years before, p. 96-7, st. 6-8, but then recoverd, tho in Westminster Hall and London (city) his old friends turnd their heads from him. And yet, tho he lookt sane, "there never stode yet, wyse man on my fete," a true saying. He seems to have gone back for a short time—till, at least, near Michaelmas 1422; see below—to the Privy-Seal Office, p. 106, st. 43, and made up his mind to take his trouble as all for the best, p. 109, st. 57. Then he gives us his *Dialog* with a Friend, in which he talks about his *Complaint*, and the evils of counterfeit and light coin, from clipping and washing, about which he says that an Act of Parliament has been past, that makes the weighing of coin necessary. This is evidently the Act of 1421 A.D., 9 Henry V, chapter xi, enacting that no coin shall be good payment unless it is of the standard weight.¹ Then Hoccleve says he means to english the Latin *Scite mori*, "Lerne for to dye" (p. 117). He is 53; his sight and mind are weakend (p. 119, st. 36), his insanity didn't come from book-study, but from his long illness (p. 121, st. 61); he has long owd a book to the Lord-Lieutenant (during Henry V's absence in France, 10 June, 1421, to H.'s death, 31 Aug. 1422), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster, and took pen and ink to begin it as soon as he heard of the Duke's second return from France. (This was

¹ 9 Henry V, ch. xi, A.D. 1421.—*Statutes*, ed. Pulton, 1636, p. 290-1.

"No English Gold shall be received in payment but by the Kings weight.

"Item, to avoid the deceits and perils which long have continued within the Realme, by Washers, Clippers, and Counterfeitors of the money of the Realme of England, to the great losse and damage of all the people of the same Realme: The King, by the aduice and assent of all the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, hath ordained and established, that from Christmas even next comming, none of the King's liege people shall receive any money of English gold in payment, but by the Kings weight thereupon ordained. And because a great part of the gold now current in payment, is not of rightfull weight, nor of good alloy, the same shall be to the great losse and costs of the Kings subjects, vnlesse it please him to relieue them in this case: Our Soueraigne Lord the King, of his speciall grace, hath remised and pardoned to all his liege people which, betwixt this and the said Feast of Christmas, shall cause to be coyned of new at the Kings coinage within the Tower of London their money of gold that is not of iust weight nor of good alloy, that is to say, all that to him pertaineth for this new coinage of such gold as afore. Sauing alwaies to the Master of the Mint, and to other officers of the same, that which to them reasonably pertaineth."

doubtless with Henry V and his French Queen on Feb. 3, 1421: Halle, p. 105, ed. 1809). On p. 130, Hoccleve mentions the Duke's worthiness at Cherbourg (in 1418¹), his winning Constantine—seemingly in 1417²,—and his valour at the siege of Rouen, 1418 (city surrendered Jan. 19, 1419). But as the Duke likes dalliance with ladies (p. 135, st. 101), and Hoccleve's friend advises him to make amends to them for the offence they took—quite wrongly, as he well says on p. 137-8—at his Letter of Cupid twenty years before, the poet resolves to english for them the tale of a true wife,—of Jereslaus or Gerelaus—from the *Gesta Romanorum*, which he accordingly does, p. 136, &c. On p. 136, st. 106, l. 739-42, Hoccleve's wife turns up again; so he no doubt had some one to look after him during his long illness and madness; and tho he says nothing about his wife's care of him, we may hope fairly (if not admit) that his stanza 57, p. 154, applies here:

"In al the world / so louynge tendrenesse	394
Is noon / as is the loue of a womman,	
To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,	
To hire housbonde also / where-of wisesse	397
We weddid men may bere / if þat vs lyke;	
And so byhoueth / a thanke vs to pyke."	399

If for "namely / &" in l. 396, we read "/ and namely (specially)" with MS Reg. 17 D 6, the line runs better, and the testimony to the wife's affection is more emphatic. But see p. xxxvii below.

Having finisht this first *Gesta* story, and added the Moralization which wasn't in his book, but was lent him by his friend, p. 175, Hoccleve englishes the first Part of the Latin *Scite mori* or "Lerne to dye," and leaves the other three Parts alone, p. 212, st. 132,

¹ A.D. 1418. Halle's *Chronicle* (1809), p. 83: "To this siege came the duke of Gloucester, with therle of Suffolke and the lorde of Burgainy, whiche had taken the toun of Chierburgh, and wer lodged before the porte of Sainct Hillarij, nerer their enemies by fortie roddes then any other persones of the armie."

² After Henry V took Caen in 1417, and the Duke of Gloster, Lisieux, Halle says (*Chronicle*, 1809, p. 80) that

"diuerse tounes in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he appoynted these capitaines.

"At Caution, the lorde Botraux.

At Seint Clow, Reignold West.

At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.

At Chiergurg [Cherbourg], the lord Grey Codner, and after his decease, sir water Hungerford."

except the portion which tells what joy and bliss are prepared for those who shall go hence to the heavenly city of Jerusalem, and the torment that is in Hell. Then, at the asking of his friend, who wants a tale to warn his son of fifteen against the wiles of women, Hoccleve englishes a second *Gesta* story, p. 218 &c., of the prostitute who beguiled an Emperor's son (Jonathas) of his magic Ring, Brooch, and Cloth, tho at last he got them back again: the story of Fortunatus, of which William Browne printed Hoccleve's text in his *Shepherds Pipe*,¹ 1614. The MS winds up with an Envoy of the

¹ Browne praises Hoccleve highly, and promises to print the rest of his works if this sample tale pleases. This come after the Tale. Before, Browne says, p. 177, ed. 1869:—

I will sing what I did leere
Long agon in Ianiueere,

Of a skillfull aged Sire,
As we tosted by the fire.

After the Tale, p. 196, Browne's *Works*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, ii. 196-8, ed. 1869:—

Willy.

By my hooke, this is a Tale
Would befit our Whitsoun-ale:
Better cannot be, I wist,
Descant on it he that list.
And full gladly giue I wold
The best Cosset in my fold
And a Mazor for a fee,
If this song thou'lt teachen me.
Tis so quaint and fine a lay,
That vpon our reuell day
If I sung it, I might chance
(For my paines) be tooke to dance
With our Lady of the May.

And at mid-night often wake him,
And convey him from his roomes
To a field of yellow broome;
Or into the Medowes where
Mints perfume the gentle Aire,
And where *Flora* spends her treasure:
There they would begin their measure.
If it chanc'd nights sable shrowds
Muffled *Cynthia* vp in cloudes,
Safely home they then woul' see him,
And from brakes and quaguires free
him.

There are few such swaines as he
Now adayes for harmony.

Willie!

What was he thou praisest thus?

Rogel.

Rogel will not say thee nay,
If thou deem'st it worth thy paines.
Tis a song, not many Swaines
Singen can; and though it be
Not so deckt with nyctee
Of sweet words full neatly chused
As are now by Shepheards vsed,
Yet, if well you sound the sence,
And the Morals excellence,
You shall finde it quit the while,
And excuse the homely stile.
Well I wot, the man that first
Sung this Lay, did quench his thirst,
Deeply as did euer one
In the Muses *Helicon*.
Many times he hath been seen
With the Fairies on the greene,
And to them his Pipe did sound,
Whilst they danced in a round.
Mickle solace would they make him,

Rogel.

Scholler vnto *Tityrus*:
Tityrus the brauest Swaine
Euer liued on the plaine,
Taught him how to feed his Lambes,
How to cure them, and their Dams;
How to pitch the fold, and then
How he should remoue agen:
Taught him when the Corne was ripe,
How to make an oaten Pipe,
How to ioyne them, how to cut them,
When to open, when to shut them;
And with all the skill he had,
Did instruct this willing lad.

Willie.

Happy surely was that Swaine!
And he was not taught in vaine:
Many a one that prouder is,
Han not such a song as this,

§ 1. *Lady Westmorland, Dedicatee of Hoccleve's "Complaint."* xxv

Volume to "my lady of Westmorland" by her "humble servant . . . T^r Hoccleve."

Now, assuming that the allusions and dates above given fix the date of the *Complaint* MS to the winter of 1421 or the early part of 1422, and assuming that Hoccleve, after his long illness and in his perpetual want of money, sent the MS to Lady Westmorland as soon as it was written, it is clear—say my good friends, Norroy King at Arms (G. E. Cokayne) and Horace Round (whose letter dated 1 March 1883 has just turnd up again)—that the Lady was John of Gaunt's daughter Joan (by Katherine Swinford), who was Countess of Westmoreland from 1397 to 1425, and Dowager Countess from 1425 to 1440.¹ But if any reader thinks that Hoccleve did with the Durham MS. what he did with the Phillipps, put several poems of later date with others of early ones, he can take his choice of two other Countesses of Westmoreland, Elizabeth and Margaret, before Hoccleve's death in 1450 (?), according to Norroy's pedigree printed below.²

And haue garlands for their need,
That but iarre as *Skelltons* reed.

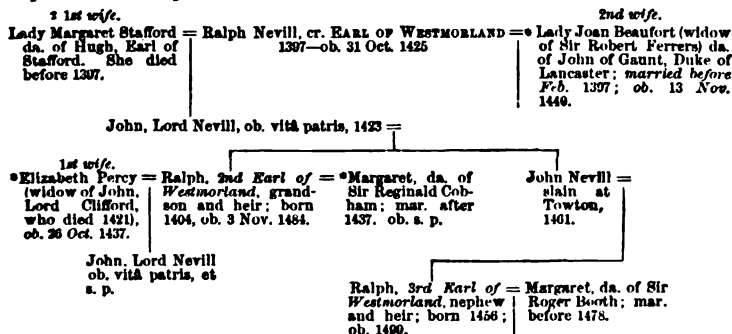
Roget.

Tis too true : But see the Sunne
Hath his iourney fully run ;

And his horses all in sweate,
In the Ocean coole their heate :
Seuer we our sheepe, and fold them ;
T'will be night ere we haue told them.

THOMAS OCCLEVE, one of the priuy Seale, composed first this tale, and was neuer till now imprinted. As this shall please, I may be drawne to publish the rest of his workes, being all perfect in my hands. Hee wrote in CHAUCERS time.

¹ She was buried at Lincoln with her mother Katherine (Swinford), for whom she had founded a Chantry there in 1437-8. Her first husband died between Sept. 1410 and Sept. 1411.



* Of these three Ladies, Joan was Countess c. 1397 to 1440; Elizabeth, 1425 to 1437; Margaret, c. 1437 to 47.

Before Hoccleve finisht his Complaint he must have written his Balade in the Ashburnham MS (see below, p. xxviii), "*pour la bien venue du tresnoble Roy H. le V^e . . . hors du Roialme de France (cestassauoir, sa dareine venue)*", 3 Feb. 1421. On Feb. 29, 1422, Hoccleve is paid 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink (App. XLV), and on May 25 he gets his half-year's annuity of £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter 1422 (App. XLVI). On Aug. 31, 1422, Henry V dies, and the baby Henry VI succeeds him.

On Jan. 24, 1423, there is an *Inspeximus* and Confirmation, on behalf of Henry VI, of Hoccleve's Annuity-grant of £13 6s. 8*d.* (App. XLVII). On Feb. 15 he gets a half-year's payment (£6 13s. 4*d.*) to Michaelmas 1422 (App. XLVIII), as *late* one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal Office; and on May 20, 1423, he gets a like payment to Easter 1423 (App. XLIX), being again described as "*late* one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal Office." On May 20, 1423, he is also paid 23s. 1*d.* (or 4*d.*) for parchment, ink, and red wax, bought by him of Walter Lucy, of London, for the Privy-Seal Office (App. L).

At last in 1424 comes a grant to our poor poet, now 56 or 55. On July 4, 1424, "*votre tres humble clerc, Thomas Hoccleve de l'office du prive seal,*" is granted, by the King and Privy Council, such sustenance yearly during his life in the Priory of Southwick, Hants.,¹ as Nicholas Mokkinge, late master of St. Lawrence in the Poultry,² had (Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 4604, art. 34; Privy Council Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 152, App. XLIX below). Notwithstanding the grant of this corody—which was, let us hope, worth £20 a year, (see p. xi

¹ Southwick, a parish in the hundred of Portsdown, co. Hants, 4 miles N.E. of Fareham, its post town, and 3 N. of Porchester railway station. The village is considerable, and near Bere Forest. The parish includes the manor of Aplestede. It had formerly a priory of Black Canons, in which Henry VI was married to Margaret of Anjou. At the Dissolution the revenues were returned at £257, and the site given to the Whites.—Hamilton's *Gazetteer*.

² See Dugdale, vi, Pt. I, p. 243, Nicholas Mockyng, 19th Jan., 1 Hen. IV, A.D. 1400, Master of St. Lawrence, Poultry. The Priory of Southwick was first founded by Hen. I in 1133 in the church of St. Mary Porchester, and not long after removed to Southwyke. Priors in Hoccleve's time: Thomas Curteis or Cortays, 22 July, 22 Ric. II; Edward Dene, 23 Sept., 11 Hen. VI; John Soburton, on whose death Philip Stanebrook received the temporalities, Sept. 20th, 3 Edw. IV.

above, and Appendix I)—Hoccleve receivd the Michaelmas half-year's payments of his Annuity, £6 13s. 4d. each, both for 1424 and 1425 (Appendix LII, LIII); after which the Southwick priory doubtless kept him in moderate comfort. And after this, unless our friend Mr. Gollancz shows that Lord Ashburnham's autograph Hoccleve MS has any other dated poems besides the Cupid of 1402, and the Hen. V one of 1421, we find nothing of Hoccleve's that we can assign a definite date to, except his "Balade to my gracious Lord of Yorke," the father of Edward IV (p. 49—51 below), which, as it asks that it may not be shown by Prince Edward to (his tutor) "Master Picard," was probably written between 1448, when Edward was six years old, and Hoccleve's death, that Mason supposes took place in 1450. The "Balade to my maister Carpenter," on p. 63, must be an early work. See p. xxxiv below.

The Hoccleve part of the Ashburnham MS 133 contains :

1. Inuocacio ad patrem :

beg. To thes / we make oure inuocacioun
Thow god / the fadir / which vn-to vs alle

20 stanzas of 7 lines each, *ababb cc*, the last ending with

And stifly graunte vs in thy cause stonde
And flitte nat / whan we take it on honde.

2. Ad filium :

beg. O blessid chyld Ihesu / what haast thow do
þat for vs shuldist souffre swich Iewyse

10 stanzas of 7, the last ending

And graunt vs grace thee to loue & drede
And yeue vs heuene / whan þat we be dede.

3. Ad spiritum sanctum :

beg. Now holy goost of the hy deitee
Loue and holy communicacioun

10 stanzas of 7, the last ending

Our soules / hem to haue in gouernance
O Trinitee haue vs in remembraunce.

4. Ad beatam Virginem :

beg. Worshipful maiden to the world / Marie
Modir moost louynge vn-to al mau-kynde

xxviii § 1. *The Ashburnham MS of Hoccleve's Minor Poems.*

7 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

For whom thow preyest / god nat list denye
Thyn axynge / blessid maiden Marie.

5. Item de beata Virgine :

beg. Syn thow modir of grace / haast euer in mynde
Ah tho / þat vp-on thee han memorie

20 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

His passion / witnesse bere may
Remembre on þat / and preye for vs aye

6. Item de beata Virgine :

beg. Who so desirith to gete and conquere
The blisse of heuene : needful is a guyde

Ce feust faicte
a l'instance de
T. Marleburgh }

Prologus, 3 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*,

Fabula (story of a Monk who, by saying *Ave Maria* 50 times a day, got the Virgin a sleeveless garment ; and then, by trebling the 50 Aves and adding to every tenth a Pater-Noster, got sleeves put to the garment, and afterwards became an Abbot of his monastery and went to heaven), 15 like stanzas.

7. Lepistre de Cupid, printed below from other worse MSS, p. 71-92 ; 68 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*.

8. Ceste balade ensuante feust faite pour la bien venue du tres-noble Roy. H. le .V.¹ (que dieu pardoint !) hors du Roialme de France / cestassauoir, sa dareine venue. [? 3 Feb., 1421, tho the Queen is not mentiond in it, but Henry is cald "heir and Regent of France" in accordance with his treaty with the French King : see Holinshed, *Chron.* iii. 573-4.¹]

beg. Victorious cristen Prince / our lord souereyn
Our lige lord ful dred and douted / we

5 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

To be ful greet / for why / to vs echone
Welcome be your pceeles persone.

¹ "The morow after Trinitie sundaie, being the third of June [1420], the marriage was solemnised and fullie consummate betwixt the King of England and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclaimed heire and regent of France." Holinshed, iii. 573, lines 23-9, ed. 1587.

"25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner : *Nostre treschier filz Henry, roy d'Engleterre, heredere de France.* And in Latine in this manner : *Praclarissimus [for praeclarissimus] filius noster Henricus, rex Angliae & hares Franciae.*" Holinshed, iii. 574, col. 2, lines 69-73, ed. 1587.

Stanzas 10, 11, 12 of Hoccleve's "How to Learn to Die"

(p. 180-1 below)

from Lord Ashburnham's Hoccleve MS.

They moche of his tyme han defendid
 In synne, and for thyng, Whan thou comest to death
 Up on hem fallith, and they nat amendid
 And shal from hem birocue thyng & breeth
 For thei synned synne hem, Whan thei see thei
 To helle goon the soules miserable
 They to dwell in peyne p'durable

Death Golde han ofte a byrdil put on thee
 And thei that han led a day, thei thei
 A rade the hand of godde mercy be
 That doo right moche on to þe lord holde
 For thei that be wipid up in synne alle
 He spard thei, thei synne nat for sale
 And on to my doctour, thei thei tale

More to thei profite shal my love
 Than chosen gold or the bootes echone
 Of philosophes, & for that the more
 Conveniently shold, for thei persone
 Under sensible cunsumple thei to one
 To god, & thei the better for to thei
 The mystere of my love, shal thei thei

9. Cy ensuent trois chaunceouns / lune conpleynante a la Dame
monoie / & lautre, La response dele a celui qui se conpleynt; & la
tierce / la commendacion de ma dame.

I. Roundel :

beg. Wel may I pleyne on yow lady moneye
bat in the prison of your sharp scantnesse

3 stanzas of 4, *abba*, the burden being repeated thrice—after each
half of st. 2, and after st. 3 ;—ends

Elles I moot in right a feynt gladnesse
Synge of yow thus / & yow accuse & seye [Wel may I, &c.]

II. La response :

beg. Hoccleus / I wole / it to thee knowen be
I, lady Moneye / of the world goddesse

3 like stanzas, with the burden repeated as above ; ends

Hir comly body / shape as a foot bal
And shee syngith / ful lyke a papeIay.

10. A Couplet :

Aftir our song / our mirthe & our gladnesse
Heer folwith a lessoun of heuynesse.

11. *Hic incipit ars Vtilissima sciendi mori. Cum omnes homines*
&c: the first 96 stanzas of the Poem printed below, p. 178-203,
with a few various readings, some being improvements.

The only other MS we have in Hoccleve's hand (almost all of it)
is the large quarto Additional MS 24,062 in the British Museum,
containing copies of documents, warrants, letters, &c., passing under
the Privy Seal.¹ They are chiefly in French, a few in Latin; and in

¹ Catalogue of Additions to the MS of the British Museum in the years
1854—1875, vol. ii. (1877), p. 3 :—

"24,062. A large collection of forms of documents passing under the Privy
Seal; consisting of copies of letters and warrants, *tempp.* Rich. II.—Hen. V.;
chiefly in French: compiled by Thomas Hocelyf, or Occeleve, the poet, Clerk of
the Privy Seal, and almost wholly in his handwriting; in the following order:—

1. Table of Contents, French, ff. 2-4 b, 198—201 b.

2. Letters addressed to the Chancellor, under the following heads: "Pur
la sommacion du parlement," "Licence," "Grauntz," "Pardons," "Collacions,"
"Nominacions," "Restitucions," "Presentacions," "Ratificacions," "Sauf
conduytz," and "de diverses natures," f. 5.

3. Warrants to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, f. 44.

4. "Au Tresorer dengleterre par soy, et au Tresorer de lostel," f. 53.

5. "As Tresorers des guerres," f. 54.

6. To the Justiciar and Chamberlain of Chester, f. 59 b.

8. To the Chamberlain and other officers of North and South Wales, f. 69 b.

9. "Pur la guerre"; to various persons, f. 73 b.

10. To the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, f. 75.

turning over the leaves I saw only two notes in English. Article 17 of this MS contains 28 pages of copied letters, and is headed *Omnegadrium*, a title that makes you smile when you see it. On leaf 101 back, Hoccleve adds a bottom line: "4 Hic finitur calendaria istius Libri secundum compositionem Thome Hoclyf. facta per manum suam ad finem libri." In the margin of leaf 124, against a French transcript in another hand, is "*secundum copiam hocclief*." The two English notes are at the foot of leaf 102 front and 194 back. At the latter place Hoccleve had left seven lines blank at the bottom of the page, and therefore writes in:—

"¶ Heere made y lepe yeer—ex negligencia &c. Witnesse on Petebat &c, in the nexte syde folwyng, which sholde haue stonden on this syde / but how so it stonde / it is a membre of the matere precedent."

The characteristic form of Hoccleve's *W* in his Poems is seen in some careless writing at the foot of leaf 102 front, and leaf 194 back of this Addit. MS 24,062. Compare the facsimile of the last page of the Durham MS. in the present volume. There is a small capital *R* inside the *W*.

§ 2. *Hoccleve's Love of Chaucer*. The chief merit of Hoccleve is that he was the honourer and pupil of Chaucer. Dukes don't matter; Chaucer does. On his Master, Hoccleve has three long passages in his *De Regimine*, p. 71, p. 75-6, p. 179, ed. T. Wright,

11. "A diuerses Coillours"; collectors of customs and subsidies, f. 76 b.

12. "As Maires et autres officers ioyntement," f. 79.

13. To Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Justices, "Gardeins diuerses," Escheators, Clerk of Arraigns, Constables and Captains of castles, Seneschals, Receivers, Farmers and Auditors, f. 83.

14. Letter of Charles V. of France to the town of Abbeville, Melun-sur-Seine, 19 Mar. 1368. French, f. 102 b.

15. "Lettres Patentes," for various purposes, f. 103.

16. "Lettres adresses a diuerses estatz en Guyenne," f. 115.

17. "Omnegadrium"; letters addressed to various persons for different purposes, f. 120 b.

18. "Par venir au conseil, f. 136.

19. "Par apprestre monoie, chivalx et chariottes," f. 137.

20. "Missiues." Under this heading are copies of letters from the King of England to various foreign princes; with a few letters addressed to the King, ff. 139 b—163 b, 168, 169, 185 b—197.

21. Papal bulls, f. 164—167 b, 170—178.

22. "Exordies et extraits des lettres"; beginnings and clauses of letters, ff. 178—185 b.

Vellum; xvth cent."

besides the two lines he puts into the mouth of the old beggar with whom he talks (p. 67, st. 267, l. 1867-8, ed. Wright) :—

pou were aqueynted with Chaucer¹ pardee :
 God saue² his soule, best of any wyght!—
 Harl. 4866, lf. 34.

and I think we may fairly conclude from l. 1965-6 that Hoccleve was either with Chaucer when he died, or saw him on his “bed mortel” just before his death. Hoccleve was daily at work in Westminster Palace, of which the present Westminster Hall was part, as were the present Old and New Palace Yards. On Christmas Eve, 1399, Chaucer had a lease for life of a house in the garden of the Chapel of St. Mary of Westminster (later, Henry VII’s Chapel), part of the Abbey grounds. Surely the pupil must have often visited his Master before the latter’s death; and surely his naming of “þi bed mortel” means something more than death in the writer’s absence.

st. 280 :—Harl. MS. 4866, lf. 35 bk.

But weylaway ! so is myn hert[e] wo,	1958	Alas, the Glory of Eng- lish is dead,
That þe honour of Englyssh tonge is deed, Of which I wont was han conseil and reed.	1960	

st. 281.

O maister deere / and fadir reuerent,	[l. 36]	1961	my Master Chaucer!
Mi maister Chaucer, flour of eloquence, Mirour of fructuous entendement, O vniversal fadir in science,			
Allas, þat þou thyn excellent prudence		1965	Why didn't he leave me his skill, on his death- bed?
In þi bed mortel mightist noght byquethe ! What eiled deth / alas ! why wold he sle the ?		1967	

st. 283.

O deth, þou didest naght harme singuleer		1975	But, Death,
In slaghtere of him, but al þis land it smertith ;			
But nathelees / yit hast þou no power			you cannot slay his fame.
His namé sle ; his hy vertu astertith			
Vnslayn fro þe / whiche ay vs lyfly hertyth,		1979	
With bookes of his ornat endytyng, That is to al þis land enlumynyng. ³		1981	

¹ Caucher, Harl. 4866, lf. 34 : Chaucers, MS Reg. 17 D 6.

² haue H.

³ He goes on : “Hast þou nat eke my maister Gower slayn [1408], 1982

Whos vertu I am insufficient

For to descreyue, I wote wel in certayn.”

1984

	p. 75, st. 297 :—Harl. MS 4866, lf. 37.	
He would have taught me, but I was dull.	My dere maistir—God his soule quyte !— And fadir Chaucer, fayn wolde han me taght, But I was dul, and lerned lite or naght.	2077 2079
	st. 298.	
	Allas ! my worthi maister honorable, [H. 37 bk.] This landes verry tresor and richesse ! Dethe, by thi deth / bath harme irreparable Vnto vs doon ; hir vengeable duresse Despoiled hath þis land of þe swetnesse Of rethorik / for vnto Tullius Was neuer man so lyk amonges vs.	2080 2084 2086
	st. 299.	
He was the highest in Philosophy.	Also who was hier in philosophie To Aristotle / in our tonge but thow ? The steppes of Virgile in poesie Thow folwedist eeke, men wot wel ynow. That combre-world þat þe my maistir slow, Would I slayne were ! Deth was to hastyf, To renne on þe, and reuē the thi lyf.	2087 2091 2093
	st. 300, p. 76.	
Death re- gards the virtuous no more than the vicious.	Deth hath but smal consideracion Vnto þe vertuous, I haue espied, No more—as shewith the probacion,— Than to a vicious maister losel tried ; Among an heep / euery man is maistried ; With hire / as wel þe porre / as is þe riche, Lerede ¹ and lewde eeke / standen al yliche.	2094 2097
	st. 301 (ed. Wright). Harl. 4866, lf. 37 bk.	
	She myghte han taryed hir vengeance a while Til that some man had egal to the be. Nay, lat be þat ! sche knew wel þat þis yle May never man forth bryngē lyk to the, And hir offici nedēs do mot she ; God bad hir do so, I truste as for the beste ; O maister, maister, God þi soulē reste !	2101 2105 2107
	p. 179, st. 712 :—Harl. MS 4866, lf. 87 bk.	
	The firstē fyndere of our faire langage Hath seyde in caas semblable, & othir moo, So hily wel, þat it is my dotage For to expresse or touche any of thoo. Alasse ! my fadir fro þe worlde is goo, Be þou worthi maister Chaucer, hym I mene : My pou aduoket for hym, heuenes quene !	4978 4982 4984
Pray for him, Queen of Heaven ;		

¹ Lerd, Harl., Lerede, D Reg. 6.

st. 713.

As þou wel knowest, o blissid virgyne,	4985	
With louyng hert and hye deuocion		
In þyne honour he wroot ful many a lyne ;		he wrote
O now þine helpe & þi promocioun		much in thine
To God þi Sonē make a mocion	4989	honour.
How he þi seruaunt was, mayden marie, [11. 88]		
And lat his louē floure and fructifie.	4991	

st. 714.

Al-pogh his lyfe be queynt, þe résemblaunce	4992	His likeness
Of him haþ in me so fresch lyflynesse,		is so fresch in
þat, to putte othir men in rémembraunce		me, that I've
Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse		had it painted
Do makē, to þis ende, in sothfastnesse,	4996	here.
þat þei þat haue of him lest þought & mynde,		
By þis peynturē may ageyn him fynde.	4998	



One likes to think of Chaucer's wishing to teach the young Privy-Seal clerk, and giving him advice ; as also of the probability that the pupil was with Chaucer sometimes during his illness and at his death. (Gascoigne's making Chaucer "an awful example" is mere parsonic rot : the poet's Retraction fancified.)

In the present volume, p. 135, lines 694-7, Hoccleve cites Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* as his authority for saying that women don't like men to put any vice on them, attribute any evil to them. As she says,

Ne I wolde nat / of hym correctad be,
I hate hym / that my vices telleth me,
And so doo mo / god woot of vs / than I.

Wife of Bath's Prolog, D § 1, l. 661-3 Ellesmere MS, p. 185; Six-Text, p. 352.

He also adopts Chaucer's excuse when he is blamed for abusing the women he meant to defend: "I wasn't the author of these accusations, I was only the reporter of other folk's tales. What they said, I wrote, but I never said it myself," 137/760-3. Why didn't he confess that he had but adapted the poem from Christine de Pisan? The influence of Chaucer is felt all thro Hoccleve.

§ 3. *Hoccleve's Patrons, Associates, and Character.* Among Hoccleve's patrons were Henry IV (p. 47), Henry V, both when Prince of Wales¹ (p. 61) and King (p. 62), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster (p. 129), the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (p. 56), the Duke of York, father of Edward IV, who once askt the poet to send him all the balades he had left (p. 49), the Duchess of York (50/22-4), John of Gaunt (*De. Reg.* 19/512-25), the Lord Chancellor (p. 58), the Countess of Westmorland, daughter of John of Gaunt (p. 23), Lady Hereford (p. 8), Robert Chichele, probably a relative of Henry Chichele, the Archbp. of Canterbury (born c. 1362, died 1442), and possibly Sir John Oldcastle before his heresy so-cald (p. 8). Among his friends were Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Carpenter the famous town-clerk and benefactor of London,²

¹ *Beggar*.—"My lord the prince, knoweth he the nat!" . . .

Hoccleve. "Yis, fader, he is my good & gracious lord."—

De Reg., p. 66, l. 1832, 1836.

Also the *Beggar* says to the poet, *ib.* 69/1899 :

"My lord the prynce is good lord the to."

² The City folk long feasted on and plunderd his charity bequest, but in 1833 founded the City of London School out of it.

The tone of the Balade on p. 63 is that of one friend to another who 'd be likely to intercede with the writer's creditors, st. 4, and not to Jn. Carpenter, Bp. of Worcester, even when he was Master of St. Anthony's School and Hospital, or Provost of Oriel (1480). Wouldn't a priest too have been cald "Sir John" instead of "Maister"?

§ 3. Hoccleve's Associates and Character. *Bred a Priest.* xxxv

Mr. Massey, connected with the Duke of Bedford (p. 57), and Mr. Picard, tutor to Henry V when Prince of Wales (p. 50). He belonged to a dining-club in the Temple, and the five Privy-Seal clerks he names are Prentys and Arundel (35/321), and Baillay, Hethe and Offorde (60/25-6). As yet we have entries naming only three of these clerks; Hethe (p. x above), Prentys and Arundel in the note below.¹ Whether the T. Marleburgh, at whose request Hoccleve wrote his third Virgin-poem in the Ashburnham MS (p. xxviii above), was a patron or friend, is not known.

There is so little of the country in Hoccleve's works,² that he was no doubt a cockney. I see no evidence that he had ever crost a horse;³ and he was too much of a coward (p. 30, st. 22 below) to play football or any other rough game. Meant to be a priest, he was no doubt brought up at some Monastery School, perhaps livd altogether with the monks as an acolyte. He was probably driven and lunged with a sharp curb, and kept on the dumb-jockey all day.

When he got free, and was his own master, he naturally kickt up his heels, and at 18 he seems to have turnd into a smart Government-Clerk while waiting for a benefice that he never got. He no

¹ Prentis and Arundel are mentiond in 1431—as entitled to cloth and lamb-fur—in the *Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1429-36, ed. Nicolas 1835, vol. iv, p. 77.

[Additional MS in British Museum, 4606, art. 48, a modern Transcript.

"Petition to the Council, with the Answer, 14th February, 9 Hen. VI, 1431]

"Please au tressage conseil nostre tressoverain seigneur le Roy, granter une lettre de garrant desoubz le prive seal, directe as Tresorer et Barons de l'eschequer, pur fair pleine et dehu allouance a William Philippe, chivaler, tresourer de l'onstel nostre dit seigneur, en son accompt qi est arendre devant eux a cause de son dit office, des sommes ensuyantz pur certains draps et fures agnelx, achetez pur diverses clers, escuiers et henxmen a la suyt du dit houstiel, encontre le feste de Noel, l'an ix^{me} assavoir, a John Burey, Robert Felton, John Langton, John Tiphan, John de Pount, *John Prentys, John Arundell*, John Seward, Nich[olas] Sturgeon et Thomas Walbon, clerks, a chascun en price de v. virges de violet engrenez, xl:—xx^{li} John Perient, Thomas Walsyngham, Thomas Bolthorp, William Caldwell, et John Waddesworth, escuiers, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, xiiij:—ix^{li} xviiij: ix^{li} a William Bourghier, Richard Veer, Thomas Beauchamp, Edward Hull, John Norbury, *Johanni Courcy, Roberte Seint-Johan*, et Hugh Malet, henxmen de la Roynie, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, et un furre de noir agnelx, ovesques le faisour de sa robe, xvi: vj^{li}—vj^{li} iiiij:

"(In dorso.) xiiij^o die Februarij, anno &c nono, concordatum est per consilium, quod sub privato sigillo, fiat garantum prout infra petitur."

² The proverbial cherry-fair, *De Reg.* p. 47, l. 1289, was probably held in town.

³ Did he see the hunt in 146/184-7 below?

doubt jettied along the Strand in fine weather in the fashionable wide-sleeved cloak of the time,¹ down to the Privy-Seal Office in the Palace at Westminster, where he would see the Prince of Wales and the nobles he mentions in his works, and have a chance of talking to them. As the Strand wasn't paved till 1533, in winter the way was deep (31/193), and Hoccleve took a boat from Chester's Inn (Somerset House) to Westminster, and there workt more or less. When young, he was free with his money, stuft and drank at the cook-shops and taverns at Westminster—paying whatever was askt (p. 30-1)—and instead of going back to the office² after dinner, went for an outing on the river (31/190). The watermen, seeing he was weak, cald him "Maister" (31/201), which tickled his vanity—it was a term applied only to gentlemen³—and drew money from him. Then he 'd adjourn to Paul's Head Tavern, close to the Cathedral, where he 'd treat and kiss the girls, or to his Dinner Club in the Temple, and either at one of these places, or in his rooms at Chester's Inn, sit up drinking all night (p. 34-5, st. 39), and be loth to rise in the morning (p. 35, st. 40). And so the fun went on, as long as Hoccleve had, or could borrow, money (36/369). Then came illness and debt. His rents but £4 a year (*De Reg.*), his earnings nothing (36/364-5), his pension in arrear, and his salary too. A bad look-out. To improve it, he drifted into marriage, and his only prospect was to trot to Newgate (62/8), beg, steal, or starve (*De Reg.* 65/1802). He was ashamed to beg; he wouldn't steal; so he wisht to die (*ibid.* 65/1808). When the old Beggar in *De Regimine* reproacht him for not being content with £4 a year, which ud find him in food, drink, and clothes (*De Reg.* 44/1217), he had to own to a wife—"Towe on my dystaf have I for to spynne" (*ibid.* 45/1226 ;

¹ The old Beggar says to Hoccleve :

"I . . . not so wide a gowne have as is thyne,
So smalle y-pynched, and so fresshe and gay."—

De Reg., p. 15, l. 409-10.

² "Hoom to the priues seel," he says 31/188, but I suppose that "hoom" means back, and does not imply that Hoccleve had rooms in the Palace.

³ See Harrison's *England*, p. 129, of my edition for the New Shakspere Society. I recollect a little Oxford man in Lincoln's Inn Fields, who was always comforted by the cabmen calling him "Captain" when he was on the look-out for a cab: "it shows they think I'm a gentleman."

53/1458), and that the fear of poverty made him sad (*De Reg.* 42/1244). He alludes twice in his *De Reg.* to his poor cottage, 34/940, "Whan that I at home dwelle in my poore cote"; and 31/842-7:

" Servise, I wote wele, is none heritage ; 841

Whan I am out of court another day,

(As I mote whan upone me hastetho age,

And that I no lenger labour may,) 845
Unto my poore cote—it is no nay—

I mote me drawe, and my fortune abide,

And suffere the storme after the mery tide. 847

As to the relations between Hoccleve and his wife, they were, I suspect—tho she was kind to him during his illness, p. 154, st. 57, and xxiii above—like those between Chaucer and his wife, only much more so. They are shown in the 104th stanza of the *Dialog*, p. 136 below, where the poor poet says that, since a woman had such power that she broke the Devil's (or Serpent's) head, it's a trifle to her to break a man's head. Therefore let no husband think it shame tho his wife breaks his head. Her "reason" (instinct) demands power over men; and tho Holy Writ says men should have rule over their wives, it is the reverse in fact; a man had better hang up his hatchet and sit down. Our fathers had to do the like (l. 748-9). Hoccleve was surely meant by nature to be under his wife's thumb, but couldn't take it out of her in chaff, as Chaucer did out of his. Mrs. Chaucer, however, wouldn't dare take such liberties with her husband as Mrs. Hoccleve would with hers. He evidently knew too what a wash at home was, 139/826.

Still, our master Chaucer tells us by the mouth of the Wife of Bath, that a woman's rule of her husband is compatible with kindness to him :

And whan that I / hadde geten vnto me,

By maistrie / al the soueraynetee,

And that he seyde / "myn owene trewe wyf,

Do as thee lust / to terme of al thy lyf ;

Keepe thyn honour / and keepe eek myn estaat";

After that day / we hadden neuer debaat:

God help me so / I was to hyrn as kynde

As any wyf / from Denmark vnto Ynde,

And also trewe / and so was he to me.

Wife's Preamble, D, § 1, 817-825. Ellesmere MS, p. 190; Six-Text, p. 357. See, too, L 1230-8 on the like state of things.

The same weak, sensitive, look-in-the-worst-side kind of man¹ is shown in his *Complaint* and his *Dealing* with his friend in the *Journaun MS.*, below, p. 54-139. And when quite old, Hoccleve is still too vain—proud, he calls it, 51 56-8—to wear spectacles, tho he is losing his sight, and injures it by not using glasses (*ibid.* p. 59-63).

But he has the merit of recognizing his weakness, his folly, and his cowardice. He makes up for these by his sentimental love of the Virgin Mary, his genuine admiration for Chaucer, his denunciation of the extravagant fashions in dress, the neglect of old soldiers, &c.² We wish he had been a better poet and a manlier fellow; but all of those who've made fools of themselves, more or less, in their youth, will feel for the poor old versifier. If he was willing to make amends for his own faults by burning Oldcastle and heretics, and uttering moral precepts, we Radicals and Teetotallers are willing to provide a painless lethal chamber for Lordly and other Tories, and drink-suppliers—after the manner of lost dogs,—and to provide a like

¹ Still, Hoccleve has an occasional touch of humour, as when he says in *De Regimine*,—p. 54, st. 213, Harl. 4866, ff. 27 bk.,—that *Nemo* is the patron who helps his fellows; no one else does:—

“But how ben þi felawes lokyd to 1485

At homé! ben not thei wele¹ benefised?”

“ȝis, fader, ȝis; þer is on clept *Nemo*,

He helpeþ hem; by hym ben² þei chericed.

Nere he, þey weren porely chevyced; 1489

He hem auanceth; he fully³ hir frende is;

Sauf only hym, þey han but fewe frende.” 1491

His Roundel to Lady Money in the Ashburnham MS is also humorous; and so is his quils of his “lady” in the same MS, which Mr. Gollancz kindly lets me print:

“Of my lady, wel me reioise I may:

Hir golden forheed is ful narw & smal,

Hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral;

And as the loot / hir yen glistren ay. 4

Hir howgy cheekes been as softe as clay

With large lowes and substancial

Hir nose / a pentice is, þat it ne shal

Reyne in hir mowth / thogh shee vp-rightes lay. 8

Hir mowth is nothyng scant / with lippes gray;

Hir chin vnnethe / may be seen at al;

Hir comly body / shape as a foot-bal;

And shee syngith / ful lyke a Papelay. 12

“Item: She hath a sweet mouth,” as is said of Lannce’s milkmaid in *The*

Two Gt. M. S. S., III. l. 320 (Cambr. ed. 1).

² Above, p. xxix a.

¹ Harl. *howe* ben þey not wel.

² Harl. omits “ben.”

³ fully Reg., ful Harl.

serene end for sweaters and anti-Home-Rulers. The mere idea of the thing makes one feel virtuous. There's a good deal of human nature in man. So we'll not throw stones at old Hoccleve.

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ou: *doumb* 38/433; *souffyse* 46/100, *souffissance* 51/70; *souffre* 34/288, 40/23, 30; *souffred* 68/51, (but *suffre* 30/151); *souffridist* 54/58, but *soffraunce* 109/384. For *high*, he has *hyly* adv. 68/49, on *hy* 1/46, *hy* adj. 39/3, 48/42.

Hoccleve's metre is poor. So long as he can count ten syllables by his fingers, he is content. He rightly apologises in 50/48 for his "Meetrynge amis," and in 57/12-13 for "how vnconnyngly My book is metrid." He constantly thwarts the natural run of his line by putting stress on a word that shouldn't bear it, or using a strong syllable as a weak one—as Browning also often does:

Duely in his conceitès balaunce 131/601,
Ful many á man / for to taken heede 131/605,
Now, good freend / shoue at thè cart, I yow praye 132/617,
Right so / let ít be bý wrytýnge amendid 135/700.

He turns the pronoun *hirē* her, into two syllables:

40/24, In preiudice of hire (not "to hire") by no way,
141/53, he hirē yaf wordēs confortatyf,
143/97, he stired hirē / whan he fond hir soul [above].

Hoccleve often breaks a measure awkwardly with his pause, as in

In the present volume, p. 135, lines 694-7, Hoccleve cites Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* as his authority for saying that women don't like men to put any vice on them, attribute any evil to them. As she says,

Ne I wolde nat / of hym corrected be,
I hate hym / that my vices telleth me,
And so doo mo / god woot of vs / than I.

Wife of Bath's Prolog, D § 1, l. 661-3 Ellesmere
MS, p. 185; Six-Text, p. 352.

He also adopts Chaucer's excuse when he is blamed for abusing the women he meant to defend: "I wasn't the author of these accusations, I was only the reporter of other folk's tales. What they said, I wrote, but I never said it myself," 137/760-3. Why didn't he confess that he had but adapted the poem from Christine de Pisan? The influence of Chaucer is felt all thro Hoccleve.

§ 3. *Hoccleve's Patrons, Associates, and Character.* Among Hoccleve's patrons were Henry IV (p. 47), Henry V, both when Prince of Wales¹ (p. 61) and King (p. 62), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster (p. 129), the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (p. 56), the Duke of York, father of Edward IV, who once askt the poet to send him all the balades he had left (p. 49), the Duchess of York (50/22-4), John of Gaunt (*De. Reg.* 19/512-25), the Lord Chancellor (p. 58), the Countess of Westmorland, daughter of John of Gaunt (p. 23), Lady Hereford (p. 8), Robert Chichele, probably a relative of Henry Chichele, the Archbp. of Canterbury (born c. 1362, died 1442), and possibly Sir John Oldcastle before his heresy so-cald (p. 8). Among his friends were Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Carpenter the famous town-clerk and benefactor of London,²

¹ *Beggar*.—"My lord the prince, knoweth he the nat!" . . .

Hoccleve. "Yis, fader, he is my good gracious lord."—

De Reg., p. 66, l. 1832, 1836.

Also the Beggar says to the poet, *ib.* 69/1899:

"My lord the prynce is good lord the to."

² The City folk long feasted on and plundered his charity bequest, but in 1833 founded the City of London School out of it.

The tone of the Balade on p. 63 is that of one friend to another who 'd be likely to intercede with the writer's creditors, st. 4, and not to Jn. Carpenter, Bp. of Worcester, even when he was Master of St. Anthony's School and Hospital, or Provost of Oriel (1430). Wouldn't a priest too have been cald "Sir John" instead of "Maister"?

§ 3. *Hoccleve's Associates and Character. Bred a Priest.* xxxv

Mr. Massey, connected with the Duke of Bedford (p. 57), and Mr. Picard, tutor to Henry V when Prince of Wales (p. 50). He belonged to a dining-club in the Temple, and the five Privy-Seal clerks he names are Prentys and Arundel (35/321), and Baillay, Hethe and Offorde (60/25-6). As yet we have entries naming only three of these clerks; Hethe (p. x above), Prentys and Arundel in the note below.¹ Whether the T. Marleburgh, at whose request Hoccleve wrote his third Virgin-poem in the Ashburnham MS (p. xxviii above), was a patron or friend, is not known.

There is so little of the country in Hoccleve's works,² that he was no doubt a cockney. I see no evidence that he had ever crost a horse;³ and he was too much of a coward (p. 30, st. 22 below) to play football or any other rough game. Meant to be a priest, he was no doubt brought up at some Monastery School, perhaps livd altogether with the monks as an acolyte. He was probably driven and lunged with a sharp curb, and kept on the dumb-jockey all day.

When he got free, and was his own master, he naturally kickt up his heels, and at 18 he seems to have turnd into a smart Government-Clerk while waiting for a benefice that he never got. He no

¹ Prentis and Arundel are mentiond in 1431—as entitled to cloth and lamb-fur—in the *Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1429-36, ed. Nicolas 1835, vol. iv, p. 77,

[Additional MS in British Museum, 4606, art. 48, a modern Transcript.

"Petition to the Council, with the Answer, 14th February, 9 Hen. VI, 1431]

"Please au tressage conseil nostre tressoverain seigneur le Roy, grantur une lettre de garrant desoubz le prive seal, directe as Tresorer et Barons de l'eschequer, pur fair pleine et dehu allouance a William Philippe, chivaler, tresourer de l'onstel nostre dit seigneur, en son accompt qi est arendre devant eux a cause de son dit office, des sommes ensuyantz pur certains draps et furres agnelx, achetez pur diverses clers, escuiers et henxmen a la suyt du dit houstiel, encontre le feste de Noel, l'an ix^{me} assavoir, a John Burey, Robert Felton, John Langton, John Tiphan, John de Pount, *John Prentys, John Arundell*, John Seward, Nich[olas] Sturgeon et Thomas Walbon, clerks, a chascun en price de v. virges de violet engrenez, xl'—xx' John Perient, Thomas Walsyngham, Thomas Bolthorp, William Caldwell, et John Waddesworth, escuiers, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, xiiij'—ix' xviii' ix' a William Bourgchier, Richard Veer, Thomas Beauchamp, Edward Hull, John Norbury, Johanni Courcy, Roberte Seint-Johan, et Hugh Malet, henxmen de la Roynne, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, et un furre de noir agnelx, ovesque le faiseur de sa robe, xv' vj'—vj' iiij'.

"(In dorso.) xiiij' die Februarij, anno &c nono, concordatum est per consilium, quod sub privato sigillo, fiat garantum prout infra petitur."

² The proverbial cherry-fair, *De Reg.* p. 47, l. 1289, was probably held in town.

³ Did he see the hunt in 146/184-7 below?

doubt jetted along the Strand in fine weather in the fashionable wide-sleeved cloak of the time,¹ down to the Privy-Seal Office in the Palace at Westminster, where he would see the Prince of Wales and the nobles he mentions in his works, and have a chance of talking to them. As the Strand wasn't paved till 1533, in winter the way was deep (31/193), and Hoccleve took a boat from Chester's Inn (Somerset House) to Westminster, and there worked more or less. When young, he was free with his money, stuff and drank at the cook-shops and taverns at Westminster—paying whatever was asked (p. 30-1)—and instead of going back to the office² after dinner, went for an outing on the river (31/190). The watermen, seeing he was weak, called him "Maister" (31/201), which tickled his vanity—it was a term applied only to gentlemen³—and drew money from him. Then he'd adjourn to Paul's Head Tavern, close to the Cathedral, where he'd treat and kiss the girls, or to his Dinner Club in the Temple, and either at one of these places, or in his rooms at Chester's Inn, sit up drinking all night (p. 34-5, st. 39), and be loth to rise in the morning (p. 35, st. 40). And so the fun went on, as long as Hoccleve had, or could borrow, money (36/369). Then came illness and debt. His rents but £4 a year (*De Reg.*), his earnings nothing (36/364-5), his pension in arrear, and his salary too. A bad look-out. To improve it, he drifted into marriage, and his only prospect was to trot to Newgate (62/8), beg, steal, or starve (*De Reg.* 65/1802). He was ashamed to beg; he wouldn't steal; so he wisht to die (*ibid.* 65/1808). When the old Beggar in *De Regimine* reproached him for not being content with £4 a year, which would find him in food, drink, and clothes (*De Reg.* 44/1217), he had to own to a wife—"Towe on my dystaf have I for to spynne" (*ibid.* 45/1226 ;

¹ The old Beggar says to Hoccleve :

"I . . . not so wide a gowne have as is thyne,
So smalle y-pynched, and so fresshe and gay."—

De Reg., p. 15, l. 409-10.

² "Hoom to the priuce seel," he says 31/188, but I suppose that "hoom" means back, and does not imply that Hoccleve had rooms in the Palace.

³ See Harrison's *England*, p. 129, of my edition for the New Shakspeare Society. I recollect a little Oxford man in Lincoln's Inn Fields, who was always comforted by the cabmen calling him "Captain" when he was on the look-out for a cab: "it shows they think I'm a gentleman."

xxxviii § 3. *Hoccleve weak and sensitive, yet has Humour.*

The same weak, sensitive, look-on-the-worst side kind of man¹ is shown in his *Complaint* and his *Dialog* with his friend in the Durham MS, below, p. 94-139. And when quite old, Hoccleve is still too vain—proud, he calls it, 51/56-8—to wear spectacles, tho he is losing his sight, and injures it by not using glasses (*ibid.* p. 59-63).

But he has the merit of recognizing his weakness, his folly, and his cowardice. He makes up for these by his sentimental love of the Virgin Mary, his genuine admiration for Chaucer, his denunciation of the extravagant fashions in dress, the neglect of old soldiers, &c.² We wish he had been a better poet and a manlier fellow; but all of those who 've made fools of themselves, more or less, in their youth, will feel for the poor old versifier. If he was willing to make amends for his own faults by burning Oldcastle and heretics, and uttering moral precepts, we Radicals and Teetotallers are willing to provide a painless lethal chamber for Lordly and other Tories, and drink-suppliers—after the manner of lost dogs,—and to provide a like

¹ Still, Hoccleve has an occasional touch of humour, as when he says in *De Regimine*,—p. 54, st. 213, Harl. 4866, lf. 27 bk.,—that *Nemo* is the patron who helps his fellows; no one else does:—

“But how ben þi felawes lokyd to 1485

At homé? ben not thei wele¹ beneficed?”

“gis, fader, gis; þer is on clept *Nemo*,
He helpeþ hem; by hym ben² þei chericed.

Nere he, þey weren porely chevyced; 1489

He hem auanceth; he fully³ hir frende is;

Sauf only hym, þey han but fewe frondes.” 1491

His Roundel to Lady Money in the Ashburnham MS is also humorous; and so is his quiz of his “lady” in the same MS, which Mr. Gollancz kindly lets me print:

“Of my lady, wel me reioise I may:

Hir golden forheed is ful narw & smal,

Hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral;

And as the leet / hir yen glistren ay. 4

Hir bowgy cheekes been as softe as clay

With large lowes and substancial

Hir nose / a pentice is, þat it ne shal

Reyne in hir mowth / thogh shee vp-rightes lay. 8

Hir mowth is nothyng scant / with lippes gray;

Hir chin vnnethe / may be seen at al;

Hir comly body / shape as a foot-bal;

And shee syngith / ful lyke a Papelay. 12

} Of my lady, &c.

} Of &c.

} Of &c.

“Item: She hath a sweet mouth,” as is said of Launce’s milkmaid in *The Two Gentlemen*, III. i. 320 (Cambr. ed. 1). ² Above, p. xxix n.

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ee: *Eeues* (Eve's) 132/722; *cheerte* 48/32, 58/20, 62/7; *eerly* 31/180, 62/21; *forgeete* 68/29; *reedy* (ready) 66/41; *seelden* 30/165; *attempree* 40/13; *beeth* (be ye) 55/127, 58/18; *eerthely* 17/292-7; *eerthe* 55/90; *bleew* 144/240; *kneew* 45/50, 140/128; *kneewen* 31/196; *reewe* 12/131, 38/412, 121/414-15, 141/152; *threew* 140/132; *treewe* 33/273, 34/277, 125/540, 127/598, 134/798, 137/48, 139/92, (but *trewe* 13/163); *treewely* 121/433, 141/158. Other *u* s are: *Reule* vb. 66/66, n. 39/8; *seur* (sure) 35/320, 48/14, 61/7; *Due* adj. 39/440, 61/13; *pured* 44/36.

oo: *dooth* imper. 42/32, 43/55; *foorth* 2/60, 27/78, 41/15; *hoolly* 3/112, &c.

ou: *doumb* 38/433; *souffyse* 46/100, *souffissance* 51/70; *souffre* 34/288, 40/23, 30; *souffred* 68/51, (but *suffre* 30/151); *souffridist* 54/58, but *soffraunce* 109/384. For *high*, he has *hyly* adv. 68/49, on *hy* 1/46, *hy* adj. 39/3, 48/42.

Hoccleve's metre is poor. So long as he can count ten syllables by his fingers, he is content. He rightly apologises in 50/48 for his "Meetrynge amis," and in 57/12-13 for "how vnconnyngly My book is metrid." He constantly thwarts the natural run of his line by putting stress on a word that shouldn't bear it, or using a strong syllable as a weak one—as Browning also often does:

Duély in his conceités balaunce 131/601,
Ful many á man / for to taken heede 131/605,
Now, good freend / shoue at thé cart, I yow praye 132/617,
Right so / let it be bý wrytýnge amendid 135/700.

He turns the pronoun *hirē* her, into two syllables:

40/24, In preiudice of hire (not "to hire") by no way,
141/53, he hirē yaf wordēs confortatyf,
143/97, he stired hirē / whan he fond hir soul [above].

Hoccleve often breaks a measure awkwardly with his pause, as in

"Wiste I what / good freend / tell on what is best" 129/552.

"Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe" 133/648.

"Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him broke" 133/654.

"Thou woost wel / on wommen greet wyt & lak" 134/667.

He not only lets the metrical pause stop the cutting-off of a final *e* before a vowel or an *h*, but he keeps the *e* also in other parts of the line:

Wolde god, by my speechē and my sawe 67/21,
To helthē him profytē / ne god qweeme 9/40,
þat he were of / nat sholdē hardy be 14/189,
From thyn Hynessē haue a tokne or tweye 38/419,
Of giltes allē haue an excellence 45/61,
For our behouē han so mochil wroght 46/98,
And werre makē, & sharp résistence 26/51,
And thus to crauē / artith me my neede 39/438,
Shameth to wernē / as þat I bylesue 39/442,
With his mowth madē / and off his noblesse 56/130,
O ground and rootē of prosperitee 25/2,
The hopē of myn exaudicioun 44/30,
It for to seruē in his cleer brightnesse 18/308,
So mochē is a popes auctoritee 18/315 († So / moche is /),
How þat his gouernancē is despysid 33/275,
The gretter needē hath it of his cure 45/67,
So largelichē opned is thy syde 3/88,
If he take heedē vnto the scripture 32/235,
Or take my way / for ferē into France 139/823.

Of the eighteen poems in the Phillipps MS, George Mason printed the six autobiographic ones in 1796: "Poems by Thomas Hoccleve, never before printed: selected from a MS in the possession of George Mason," &c. They are, (1) p. 15, the "Balade to the Lord Chancellor" (p. 58 below); (2) p. 27, "La Male Regle" (p. 25 below); (3) p. 59, the "Balade and Roundel to Somer" (p. 59-60 below); (4) p. 65, the "Balade to Sir Hy. Somer" (p. 64 below); (5) p. 71, the Balade "Au Roy" (Henry V, p. 62 below); (6) p. 73, the "Balade to my maister Carpenter" (p. 63 below), whom Mason made the Bp. of Worcester, or the Rev. John Carpenter who was afterwards Bp. of Worcester, but whom I make the more probable John Carpenter, the well-known town-clerk and benefactor of London, whose charitable bequest, after having been mainly guzzled or misapplied by the City

Corporation for centuries, was in part used to found the City of London School in 1833.

In 1602 Speght printed, in his second edition of Chaucer's Works, p. 424, Hoccleve's Balade to Henry V and the Knights of the Garter, p. 41 below, under the title of "To the Kings most noble Grace, and to the Lords and Knights of the Garter." It was reprinted in 1687, and by Urry, &c.

In 1614, as noted above, p. xxiv, the poet William Browne reprinted Hoccleve's second *Gesta* story of Fortunatus (p. 214, &c., below) in the first Eglogue of his *Shepheards Pipe*, and W. C. Hazlitt reprinted it in his edition of Browne's Works (Roxburgh Library), ii. 178-196.

Next, about 1625, the Rev. Richard James, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Chr. Coll., Oxford, copied and annotated Hoccleve's Remonstrance with Oldcastle, p. 8 below, and evidently meant to publish it: see "The Legend and Defence of y^e Noble Knight and Martyr Sir John Oldcastel" in the James MS 34, in the Bodleian, or the Grenville MS 35 in the British Museum. This copy by James—which had mistakes—Dr. Grosart printed, with James's notes and Dedication to Lord Bouchier,¹ in his "Poems &c of Richard James B.D." 1880. Then in 1882 Miss L. T. Smith edited Hoccleve's poem from the Phillippes MS, in *Anglia*, vol. 5, with only three mistakes in the text that need be noted—*novice* for *noyce*, and *lore* for *lore*, st. 27, lines 4 and 6; *might* for *naght* in st. 36, line 7—and one in the Latin sidenote to st. 24: she left-out "*vel militaris*" after "*Clericus*." Next to *La Male Regle*, readers will probably be most interested in "The Court of good Company's balade to Sir Hy. Somer," p. 64.

In 1801 Dr. John Leyden printed Hoccleve's *Mother of God*, p. 52-6 below, as Chaucer's, in his edition of the *Complaynt of Scot-*

¹ The Dedication is well known for its defence of Sir John Falstaffe, and its condemnation of Shakspere's "ignorant shifte of abusing Sir Jhon" by substituting him for Oldcastle whom he had first put into 1 *Henry IV*, because Oldcastle's descendants objected to it. So in the Epilog to 2 *Henry IV*, Shakspere wrote that he would "continue the Story . . . where Falstaffe shall dye of a sweat . . . For Old-Castle dyed a Martyr, and this is not the man."—See *The Centurie of Praise*, N. Sh. Soc., p. 164-5, 268-9.

land,¹ from John of Ireland's MS in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The poem was also printed from Leyden, as Chaucer's, in the First Series of *Notes & Queries*, vol. xii, p. 140-1, Aug. 25, 1855, and by Dr. R. Morris in his Aldine edition of *Chaucer's Poetical Works*, 1866, at the end of vol. vi, from the Bodleian MS Selden B 24. Lastly (woe is me!) I printed it in 1878 from its only three known MSS in the Chaucer Society's Parallel-Texts of the Minor Poems, no. LVII, and separately, in 1880, from the Phillipps MS in no. LXI, "A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems," Part II. Dr. Murray read the copy with the MS for me. The other ten Poems of the Phillipps MS appear for the first time in the present edition.

For the text of "The Letter of Cupid," 1402, p. 72, I must apologize. I forgot to look at my old notes of 1871 for the MSS of it, and used my Fairfax copy without testing it by Shirley's and other MSS. Then I had it collated with these, and Prof. Skeat toucht up the final e's; but still many parts of the text were unsatisfactory, and the stanzas seemd in wrong order. Comparison with Christine de Pisan's original—of which Hoccleve's poem is but an adaptation with changes (see Notes below, p. 243), and to which our good friend Prof. Paul Meyer referd me—showd that the Fairfax man (or an earlier transcriber) had copied from a MS of which the leaves had been shuffled like a pack of cards; and last came Hoccleve's autograph MS of the poem, which Lord Ashburnham has kindly lent to our friend Mr. Israel Gollancz, who will edit it for us. This set the stanzas in right order, and improved the text, tho Mr. Gollancz's edition of it will be better, and of course the standard text.

The Durham MS I first saw in 1871 (?), on my fruitless journey north to try and see Mr. Bowes's Midland MS of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Symne*, a MS which has never been heard of since it was in the late J. O. Halliwell's hands for use in his Glossary.² Out of this Durham MS some other "Furiows Foole" (p. xl n. above) has torn out the first two sheets, *a* and *b* in eights, and the good old tailor-antiquary, John Stowe, has copied a poor text in, on ten leaves of paper. The vellum part, *c—m* in eights, n 1—3 (p. 115 below,

¹ E. E. T. Soc., Extra Series, 8, re-edited by Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

² He told me that he borrowd it of, and returnd it to, Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

to the end) is in Hoccleve's hand, and has on the last page his dedication to the Lady Westmorland, followed by his signature: see the Facsimile, with all the later scribbles on it.

On the pathos of the poor sensitive old poet's sufferings under the coldness and suspicions of his former friends, after his madness, I have already remarked. The best parts of the Durham volume are Hoccleve's englishings of the two stories from the *Gesta Romanorum*. The reader will find prose versions of them in the Society's edition by Mr. S. J. Herrtage (Extra Series, 1879, no. 33), at pages 311-22 (*Merelaus*, as *Jereslaus* is there called) and 180-96, the latter from Addit. MS 9066, as well as Shirley's Harleian 7333, copied by Impingham. The Emperor is there called Godfridus. The Latin originals are in Oesterley's 1872 edition of the *Gesta*,—the Wife of the Emperor (or King) Octavianus and her scoundrel brother-in-law, at p. 648-654, cap. 249, app. 53; the Magic Ring, Brooch and Cloth, at p. 466—470, cap. 120 (112), *De mulierum subtili deceptione*. The king's name is Darius; the third son's, Jonathas; the "*Puella ejus concubina*"—"puella satis formosa"—is unnamed. Hoccleve's englishings and those of the prose *Gesta* should be read together. The whole English *Gesta* was of course printed by the Roxburghe Club in 1838, Sir F. Madden editing; and I printed the prose *Merelaus* for the Chaucer Society in 1872, no. 7 of its Second Series, Part I of the "Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," p. 55-70, in illustration of the Man of Law's Tale of Constance. Of Magic Rings and Gems, Mr. Clouston has an interesting account in my edition of John Lane's "Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale," p. 271, 334-347, 464, and of Magic Carpets at p. 294 (Chaucer Society, 2nd Series, 1890).

Tho I've looked thro the Index *De Morte* (besides others) in Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*, as well as the Brit. Mus. Class Catalog of MSS about Death, I have failed to find the original of Hoccleve's *Lerne to Dye*. It was, however, that of a prose version (ab. 1430-40) in the Lichfield Cathedral MS 16, which I saw years ago, and which Miss Rosa Elverson has copied out for us. This version is there attributed to St. Anselm (among whose works I can't see it), and is headed "*tractatus qui scitte mori appellatur*." It begins "*Syppe al*

maner men desireth by kynde to haue konnyng & knewliche on þe hyȝe and euerlastyng wysdom," and gives Hoccleve's fourth stanza (p. 179) thus: "First, y schal teche how þou schuldest deye; and aftirward how þou schuldest lyue; and after þat how þou schuldest resceyue me by sacrement; And at þe last, how þou schuldest preysy me bysyli with a clene mynd."

Miss Elverson will edit this prose version for the Society, together with the best known englishing (from the French) of the Latin *Scite Mori*,¹ by John Gerson, properly Jean Charlier, born at Gerson. This is Caxton's "The Art & Crafte to knowe well to dye"—"translated oute of Frensshe into Englysshe by Willm Caxton," London, 1490, folio, 13 leaves. Gerson was a contemporary of Hoccleve's, was born in 1363, and died on July 12, 1429, and "is mainly remembered in connection with his efforts to bring about a cessation of the great schism which had divided the (Roman Catholic) church since 1378. His proposal was to depose both the rival popes, and elect a third in their room—a step which was taken by the council held at Pisa in 1409, of which Gerson was a member as deputy of the University of Paris. . . In 1419 he returned to his native country, and spent the last ten years of his life with his brother, the prior of a community of Celestine monks at Lyons, living an ascetic life, and devoting himself to religious meditation and the composition of theological and other treatises."—Blackie's *Cyclopædia*.

In the 1502 edition, printed by Hermann at Cologne, Gerson's tract takes up only 2½ pages, and begins:

¶ Johannes Gerson de Scientia bone mortis. Si veraces fidelesque amici cuiuspiam egroti curam diligentius agant, pro ipsius vita corporali fragili & defectibili conseruanda, exigunt a nobis multo fortius deus & caritas pro salute sua spiritali sollicitudinez gerere spirituales. In hac enim extrema mortis necessitate, fidelis probatur amicus . . .

¶ Prima pars continet quatuor exhortationes. ¶ Prima exhortatio est, "Amice dilecte aut dilecta, considera nos omnes subiectos esse potenti manu dei, & ipsius voluntati omnes nos, cuiuscunque conditionis aut status, reges, principes, aut diuites & pauperes, mortis tributum soluere necesse est . . . [end of Part 4] Hinc expediens videtur, vt in quibuslibet pauperum hospitalibus vel domibus dei statuto firmaretur, ne quis ibidem eger suscipi posset, qui non primo ingressus die confessionem faceret, vel ydoneo sacerdoti ad hoc ipsum

¹ The Addit. MS 15, 105 in the Brit. Mus. is: "Tractatulus vtilissimus de arte bene moriendi, doctoris Iacobi Carthusiensium prope Staffordiam, Incipit: 'Omnes morimur, et quasi aqua dilabimur in terram.'"

deputato, paratus confiteri se continuo penitaret, sicut in domo dei Parisiensi laudabiliter observatur &c. Finit.

§ 5. The writing of these Forewords takes me back nearly ten years, to the time when the Phillipp's MS was copied, the autumn of 1882. After a visit to my fellow-Shakspeare-editor, Mr. W. G. Stone, at his peaceful home at Walditch near Bridport, I went across to work at MSS at Cheltenham, and to stop with the family of a young-lady lover of Shakspeare and Browning, who had been helped by my Introduction to the Leopold Shakspeare and had written to me. Daily, after my work at the Hoccleve and Chaucer MSS in the Phillipp's collection at Thirlestaine House, my gifted and sweet-sould young friend took me for one of the pretty walks round the town, sometimes through level meads, sometimes through Lackington churchyard, or by other paths to the Cotswold Hills,¹ talking of the writers and people she honourd, telling me of her Indian life, her work at Cheltenham College, and in the evening singing me favourite songs, such as I named in my Forewords to the "Earliest English Wills" (E. E. T. Soc., 1882, no. 78), last page. A pleasant time it was; and little did I then think that the happy and brilliant future which I lookt forward to for my young friend would be so soon ended by her sad burning, and her death a week after, on Sept. 4, 1883. The pain of that has now past, and the pleasure of the friendship remains. It mingles in my mind with the delightful summer Saturday afternoons and Sundays² last season on the river, when we dined on the bank opposite Hampton Court and teaed on Tatham's island—we, learned friends,³ gentle women, nice girls, and darling children, with their pretty ways and eager "Oh, Doctor,

¹ On one walk there, during a later short visit, the local hunt came on to the Hills; and very pretty it was to see the hounds searching the undergrowth while the red-coats watcht them, but no fox turnd out to give them a run.

² How different it was yesterday, in our narrow sculling-four!—dull sky, bare banks, hardly a boat to be seen; no fire in the lunch-room at Eelpie Island, keen cold wind for our run and walk on the bank, and dead against us all the way down. But still enjoyable, and the spurt enlivening.

³ And—talk of golden garters!—did not one man famous for folk-lore, fairies, philosophy, Hebrew, and all sorts of other things, sheen in the sunlight, when he peeld to scull bow down-stream, and disclosed to our astonisht eyes, a cream silk shirt! Could luxury further go?

I can pull *two* now. You come and see me! Mother, you come too!" "May we children have the boat *all* to ourselves? None of you grown-ups. We can manage her, &c. &c." Bless em all! I find life worth living. Don't you? Specially when you have an old randan and can tow and scull. (Don't mention the washing-up after picnic meals.) Well, the Phillipps copy was set, and ought to have been issued in 1883; but I kept it back till I could complete, or get completed, the copy of part of the Durham MS which some good friend had transcribed for me years before. At last, after borrowing the MS twice, by forbearing Mr. Fowler's indulgence, this was managed. And here the Text at last is, as the foregoer, I trust, of Mr. Gollancz's edition of the Ashburnham Minor Poems, and a Text of *The Regement of Princes*, when I can find out the best MS of it.¹ If any one will volunteer for the editing of this poem, it shall be committed to his charge, for I haven't time for it. Still, if no one else will do it, I will. My Circular proposing the "Lydgate and Occleve Society" (in Ellesmere MS, Pt. IV) is dated 14 March, 1872, and says, "From the amount of work before the Early English Text Society, it is clear that they cannot hope to print Lydgate's and Occleve's Works for something like 20 years, though these works are wanted by students at once . . . I can do Occleve's;" and I promise that the first MS printed of him should be the Durham one of the *Complaint*, &c., printed below. But not half of the 150 men I wanted for a start, agreed to join, and so the Society never was. Still, 1892 sees a book by Lydgate and one by Hoccleve issued by the Early English Text Society, and others will follow. I feel bound to try and see Hoccleve cleared, and Lydgate well started, before I die.

I say thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Smith—who have long since returned to India,—to Mr. Fenwick of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, Mr. Fowler of Bp. Hatfield's Hall, Durham, to Norroy,

¹ Mr. A. B. Rogers at Cambridge, and Miss A. F. Parker at Oxford, have examined for the Society all the *Regement* MSS with our facsimile page in the present volume, to see if any has Hoccleve's most frequent *w*, and they have copied from every MS the three Chaucer stanzas p. xxxii-iii above, "The firste finder of our faire langage," &c., as a sample of each. We can thus tell which are best worth collating further, if no autograph MS is hereafter found.

§ 5. *Thanks to Helpers. P.S. Are the MSS. autograph.* xlix

Mr. Horace Round, Prof. Skeat (for looking after the final *es*, &c.), Mr. R. G. Kirk, and all other helpers, including our collators Mr. Rogers and Miss Parker, and Mr. Thomas Austin, who cut down the Oxford collations to the *Cupid*, and has made the Index and Glossary.

*British Museum, Monday, 29 Feb. 1892,
7.30 p.m., under the electric light.*

P.S. 28 July 1892. After seeing how many carelessnesses there are in the three MSS I have put down as Hoccleve's autograph ones, I am obliged to doubt his having written them; and I take refuge in the conclusion that the larger writing of these MSS is more probably that of his clerk John Welde, or some like man, and that the closer writing of his Dedication to Lady Westmorland, at the foot of the facsimile, is alone in Hoccleve's own hand.

APPENDIX OF HOCLEVE DOCUMENTS,

COPIED FROM THE RECORD OFFICE
BY MR. R. E. G. KIRK.

I.

12 Nov. 1399. Grant of £10 a year to Hoccleve for life, or until he gets a benefice of £20 a year.

[Patent Roll, 1 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 21.]

Pro Thoma Hoccleue.

Rec, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili seruicio quod dilectus seruiens noster, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impendit, et impendet infuturum, concessimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones, ad terminum vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos fuerit promotus. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xij die Nouembris.

*Per breue de priuato sigillo.*¹

¹ 1399. The Pells Issue Roll for Michaelmas 1 Henry IV., 1399, has no mention of Hoccleue.

1400. Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry IV. This roll does not contain any payment to Hoccleue.

On membranes 3 and 10, and at the end, there are payments to Richard Clifford, Clerk, *Keeper of the Privy Seal*, at the rate of 20s. a day, for his wages (*vadiis*). It is also stated, on m. 1, that King Richard II. owed him £200.

Richard Clifford, Clerk, *Junior*, was Keeper of the Wardrobe of Isabella, late Queen of England; 5 August.

On m. 6 there is a payment to Geoffrey Chaucer of part of the annuity of £20 granted him by Ric. II., and confirmed by Henry IV. This is printed by Sir Harris Nicolas: see *Chaucer's Post. Works*, ed. Morris, 1866, i. 107.

For the good service of Thos. Hoccleue, one of our Privy-Seal clerks, We (Henry IV) have granted him £10 a year

for his life, or until we promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice (without cure of souls) worth £20 a year. 12 Nov. 1399.

II.

13 Dec. 1400. First Payment to Hoccleve of £8 15s. 3d., being so much of his £10 Annuity, granted on Nov. 12, 1399, as was due at Michs. 1400.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 2 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xiiij^o die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve, to whom, on 12 Nov. 1399, Hen. IV. granted £10 a year

for his good service,—
in money paid
by assignment,

for the time from
12 Nov. 1399 to

Michs. 1400.

£8. 15s. 3d.

Thome Hoccleue, cui Dominus Rex nunc, xij^o die Nouembris proximo preterito,¹ x. li. annuus, ad Scarcarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis, per assignacionem factam² isto die, in persolucionem viij. li. xv. s. iij. d. sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, tam pro rata a predicto xij^o die Nouembris, vsque vltimum diem Marcij tunc proximum sequentem, per [blank] dies, vltimo die et non primo computato, quam pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breuis suum de liberate hoc termino. viij. li. xv. s. iij. d.³

III.

29 Nov. 1401.
£5 to Michs.

Michs. 3 Henry IV., 1401. This Roll contains a payment for the half year of 100s. on Tuesday, 29 November; m. 11.

¹ That is, "last past" before Michaelmas day.

² "*assignatio facta*;" ab. 1400-24. In later times the word "assignment" was used in the Exchequer in two senses—first, as an assignment on a particular fund or branch of the revenue; secondly, as an assignment or transfer of an annuity by the grantee to some other person; but the former seems to be the meaning in the entries relating to Hoccleve. Almost the last entry I found, throws light on this point: it states that Hoccleve had an assignment for the larger portion of his annuity, and that only a small sum was paid to him "*in money*." So that when he was paid "by assignment," which was not always the case, he may not have received the amounts on the days specified in the rolls, if the revenues on which he had his assignments had not come in; but there are no records which would help to elucidate this question. It is probable however that the assignment would not be made till the revenues were actually in hand.

³ There is a duplicate of this roll; but the roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV., 1401, is wanting, and there is no Auditors' or Tellers' Roll for that term.

IV. a.

26 April, 1402. Payment to Hoccleve of £5, his half-year's Annuity to Easter, 1402.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Henry IV.]

Die Mercurii, xxvj. die Aprilis.

Thome Hoccleue, clerico, cui Dominus Rex nunc x li. annuus ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, per assignacionem factam isto die, in persolucionem C. s. sibi liberandorum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito per breue suum etc. C. s.

Thomas Hoccleue.
To whom Henry IV. granted £10 a year for his life:—

in money paid to him

to Easter 1402, £5.

IV. b.

In the next roll, Michs. 4 Henry IV., 1402, there is a payment to Thomas Occlive of 4^l. 18^s. 9^d., part of 100^s., on Thursday, 7 December. (It is not stated why he was mulcted in 1^s. 3^d.)¹

7 Dec. 1402.
£4 18s. 9d.
to Michs. 1402.

V.

15 Oct. 1403. Payment to Hoccleve of £9, his year's Annuity, less £1 which he gives up to get the £9.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 5 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xv^o die Octobris.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Rex nunc x. li. annuas, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruicio per ipsum de longo tempore in officio predicto impenso et impendendo, vel quousque idem Thomas ad beneficium ecclesiasticum sine cura valoris xx. li. annuarum fuerit promotus, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x. li. sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro terminis Pasche et

Thomas Hoccleue.
To whom (as a Privy-Seal clerk) Hen. IV. granted £10 a year for his life (for his long services in the Privy-Seal Office) till he should get a benefice of £20 a year without cure of souls,—in money paid to him for and to Easter

¹ The roll for Easter, 4 Hen. IV., 1403, does not contain any payment to Hoccleve, who seems to have allowed it to get in arrears. The Auditors' and Tellers' Rolls do not help. See next entry.

and Michaelmas
1405,
less 20s. which
he gives up to
the King
in order to get the
remaining £9,—
£9.

Sancti Michaelis ultimo preteritis, deductis vero xx. s. quos dictus Thomas, de sua mera et spontanea voluntate, remisit et relaxauit dicto Domino Regi, pro solutione habenda de ix. li. residuis, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino ix. li.

VI.

6 March 1404.
£5 in advance,
due at Easter.

On the same Roll, under date of Thursday, 6 March [1404], there is another payment of 100^s. to Thomas Occlýve for the Easter term *following*; i. e. in advance.¹

VII.

26 March 1406.
£5 to Micha. 1405.

The roll for Michaelmas, 7 Henry IV., 1405, contains the usual payment of 100^s. to "Thomas Occlýff, Clerk," on Friday, 26 March 1406.

VIII.

13 May 1406.
£5 to Easter.

The roll for Easter, 7 Henry IV., 1406, also contains the usual entry for the half-yearly payment of Hoccleve's 100^s to Easter 1406, on Thursday, 13 May.

¹ The roll for Easter is wanting, but probably contained no payment to Hoccleve.

In the Auditors' Issue Roll, Easter, 5 Hen. IV., A.D. 1404, there are two payments to . . . Blith, "pergamenarius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "*tam pro officio priuati sigilli [et] duorum Rememoratorum de Scaccario quam pro Recepta eiusdem.*"

(In the roll for Easter, 12 Ric. II., these offices are described thus: "*tam pro expensis officij de priuato sigillo Regis quam duorum Rememoratorum de Scaccario et pro Recepta eiusdem Scaccarij.*")

John Burgh, who is mentioned in a subsequent payment to Hoccleve, is here described as "one of the Clerks of the Receipt" [of the Exchequer], and as having an annuity of £20 by grant of Richard II., confirmed by Henry IV. This roll is very much decayed and damaged, and, as expected, there is no payment to Hoccleve, but there is a similar payment to some one else, whose name is lost, under a grant of Ric. II. There are no Tellers' Rolls for Easter or Trinity.

The three sets of rolls for Michaelmas, 6 Henry IV., 1404, and Easter, 6 Henry IV., 1405, contain no payments to Hoccleve. (Could he not get, or did he forego, payment?)

In the Michaelmas roll there is a note that Thomas, Lord of Furnyvall, the Lord Treasurer, "began in the second part" of this term; his first date being 13th December. In the Easter roll, Thomas Langley, clerk, Keeper of the Privy Seal, is entered as receiving 20s. a day, as other Keepers had done before him, "until order should be taken for his continual dwelling within the King's household"; but on 1st March he was "exonerated" from the office. John Wisbech, his clerk, is mentioned in the Tellers' Roll.

IX.

14 Aug. 1406. Payment to Hoccleve of
£3 — 8*d.* for parchment, ink, & red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Henry IV.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij. die Augusti.

Thome Occlieu, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In
denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolu-
cionem lx. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari
mandauit pro pergamento, incausto, [et] cera rubea, de
diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus dicti Domini Regis
emptis, in officio predicto; per breue de priuato sigillo
inter mandata de hoc termino . . . lx. s. viij. d.

To Thos. Hoc-
cleve, Clerk in
the Privy-Seal
Office,

for parchment,
ink & red wax,
bought for the
Office,

£3. — 8*d.*

X.

The Auditors' Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 8 Henry
IV., 1406, contains no payment to Hoccleve; but the
Tellers' Roll has the following note: "Thome Occlie
[sic], de x. li. annuis, per manus proprias, C. s."

. . . 1406
£5 to Michs. 1406.

XI.

The Roll next quoted contains the usual payment of
Hoccleve's 100*s.* half-yearly, on Saturday, 12 June.

12 June 1407.
£5 to Easter.

XII.

15 July 1407. Payment to Hoccleve of
£3 6*s.* 8*d.* out of £7 9*s.* 10½*d.* due to
him for parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 8 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris xv. die Julij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati
sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in
partem solucionis vij li. ix*s.* xd. ob. quos Dominus Rex
sibi liberari mandauit, pro pergamento, incausto, cera
rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus Regis
emptis, et in dicto officio a xxvij^o die Marcij anno vij^o
Regis huius hucusque expendis, per breue de priuato
sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino lxvj. s. viij. d.

Thomas
Hoccleue.

To him, a Clerk
in the Privy-
Seal Office,
in part payment
of £7 9*s.* 10½*d.*
for parchment,
ink, and red wax,
from March 27,
1406 to July 15,
1407,
£3 6*s.* 8*d.*

XIII.

16 Jan. 1408. Payment to Hoccleve of £4 3s. 2½*d.* on account for 16 months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Auditors' Issue Roll, Michs. 9 Hen. IV.]

Tuesday, 16 Jan. 1408.

24 3s. 2½*d.*

for parchment,
from 27 March
1408 to 12 July
1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occleve, clerk," of 4^l. 3^s. 2½^d. (part of a larger sum of 7^l. 9^s. 10½^d.) for parchment, ink, and red wax, from 27 March, 7 Hen. IV. (1406) to 12 July, 8 Hen. IV. (1407), by the King's command.

XIV.

Saturday, 4 Feb. 1408.

4 Feb. 1408.

Half-yearly 25
to Michs. 1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occlyve, clerk," of 100*s.* for Michaelmas term, by his own hands.¹

XV.

7 July 1408.
25 to Easter.

Easter, 9 Henry IV., 1408. Saturday, 7 July. To "Thomas Hocclyve Clerk," 100*s.*

XVI.

18 Feb. 1409.
25 to Michs.

Michs. 10 Henry IV., 1408. Wednesday, 13 February, 1409. To Thomas Occliff, 100*s.*

XVII.

17 May 1409. Grant of £13 6s. 8*d.* a year from Michs. 1408, to Hoccleve, instead of his former yearly £10.

[Patent Roll, 10 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 24.]

Pro Thoma Hoccleue.

On Nov. 12, 1309,
on account of the
good service of
Thos. Hoccleve,
one of our Privy-
Seal clerks,

we granted him
£10 a year

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod cum duodecimo die Nouembrie, anno regni nostri primo, de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili seruicio quod dilectus seruiciens noster, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impenderat, et extunc impenderet: concesserimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti

¹ These were not found on the Pells Issue Roll, which is incomplete.

Michaelis, per equales porciones, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos foret promotus, prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; Nos, de vberiori gracia nostra ac in recompensacionem dicti seruicij sui, pro eo quod idem Thomas, dictas literas nostras in Cancellariam nostram restituit cancellandas, concessimus ei viginti marcas, percipiendas ad dictum Scaccarium nostrum, a festo Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xvij¹ die Maij.

for his life, or till we should promote him to a benefice worth £20 a year.

As Hoccleve has returned this grant to be canceled, we grant him 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year, from Michaelmas, 1409.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XVIII.

23 May 1409. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve of £6 13s. 4d. in respect of his fresh annuity of £13 6s. 8d.

[Fells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris, xxiiij^o die Maij.

Thome Occluyue, cui Dominus Rex nunc x.li. [for xx marcas] singulis annis, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum² sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.²

To Thos. Hoccleve,

In money paid to him,

for his $\frac{1}{2}$ year's annuity to last Easter, £6 13s. 4d.

XIX.

Michs. 11 Hen. IV., 22 Nov. 1409. Thomas Occliff or Occluyff (no further description), £6 13s. 4d. The King had granted him ten pounds [for 20 marks] a year for life, for his good service, by letters patent. (Master John Prophete is Keeper of the Privy Seal.)

22 Nov. 1409. £6 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas.

¹ xvij is written on an erasure.

² These sums are written on erasures, the amount having probably been originally written "C. s."; but the scribe omitted to alter the "x. li." at the beginning.

XX.

23 June, 1410. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 2s. 2d. for 14 months' ink, wax, and parchment.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 11 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xxij die Junij.

Thomas Hoccleue.
To him, in money
by the hands
of Jn. Weld,
for ink, parch-
ment, and red
wax, from
21 Feb. 1409 to
24 April 1410,
21 2s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleue, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Weld,¹ in persolucionem xxij.s. ij.d. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit pro incausto, pergamenio, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis et expendendis in officio predicto, videlicet, a xxj^o die Februarij anno x^o, vsque xxiiij^{to} diem Aprilis anno xj^o vltimo preterito, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xxij.s. ij.d.

XXI.

17 July 1410.
26 13s. 4d. to
Easter.

Easter, 11 Hen. IV. Thursday, 17 July. Thomas Hoccliff. The King had granted him 20 marks [13^l. 6^s. 8^d.] a year for life, by letters patent, payable half-yearly. (He is not called Clerk here. There is no payment to him for Michaelmas, 12 Hen. IV., A.D. 1410, either in the Pells or the Auditors' Roll.)

XXII.

8 July 1411.
26 13s. 4d. to
Michaelmas 1410.

1411, Easter,² 12 Hen. IV., 8 July. To Thomas Hoccliff (or Hoccliff³), one of the Clerks, &c., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.

XXIII.

26 Feb. 1412,
215 6s. 8d., 1 year
to Michs. 1411.

Michs. 13 Hen. IV. (1411), 26 Feb. 1412, Friday. To Thomas Occlive (or Occliff³), one, &c., 13^l. 6^s. 8^d. for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last. This payment is also recorded in the Tellers' Roll for Hilary, 13 Hen. IV.³

¹ John Weld is afterwards described as Hoccleve's clerk. A John Wold or Wolde was keeper of the King's lions and leopards in the Tower of London; Mich., 10 Hen. IV., *et ante*.

² This, tho' call'd an Easter payment, was no doubt for Michs. 1410—see last entry, as the next payment is for the whole year 1411 (see XXVI). If not, Hoccleve was paid twice over for Easter 1411.

³ 1412, Easter, 13 Hen. IV. The Pells Issue Roll is wanting. The Auditors' Issue Roll and the Tellers' Roll are also wanting. 1412, Michs. 14 Hen. IV. No payment found. The Pells Roll seems to be imperfect, the first date being 25 January. There is no Auditors' Roll, but there is a Tellers' Roll for Michaelmas. (*See extract.*)

XXIV.

5 Nov. 1412. Payment to Hoccleve of 32s.
for parchment and ink.

[Tellers' Roll, Michs. 14 Hen. IV.]

Die Saboti, quinto die Nouembris.

[It is somewhat doubtful whether this date applies
to the following entry.]

Thome Hoccleffe, per manus Johannis Weld', pro
pergameno et incausto emptis in officio Custodis priuati
sigilli xxxij.s.¹

To T. Hoccleve
for ink &c.,
32s.

XXV.

28 Sept. 1413. Inspeximus and Confirm-
ation by Henry V. of Hoccleve's Annuity
of £13 6s. 8d., with the arrears from
Michs. 1412.

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry V., part 4, membrane 25.]

De confirmacione—Hoccleue.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus litem
patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Domini
Henrici nuper Regis Anglie factas in hec verba. Henricus
Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie
Omnibus ad quos [etc. as in the Patent Roll of 10
Henry IV., 17 May, 1409, p. liv, above]

We have seen our
late Father's

grant of £13
6s. 8d. a year to
Thos. Hoccleve,

Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, decimo septimo
die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo. Nos autem, de
gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono seruicio nobis per
prefatum Thomam impenso et impendendo, concessi-
onem predictam, ac omnia et singula in literis predictis
contenta, rata habentes et grata, ea pro nobis et heredi-
bus nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approba-
mus, et prefato Thome, tenore presencium, concedimus
et confirmamus, prout literę predictę rationabiliter tes-
tantur. Ita semper quod idem Thomas, pro termino

on 17 May 1409;

and on account of
Hoccleve's good
service to us,

we approve and
confirm to him
the said Grant,

¹ There is also a payment to Thomas, late Lord of Furnyvall,
and Sir John Pelham, late Treasurers of the Wars; also two
payments to Walter Lucy for parchment for the Receipt of the
Exchequer and the Privy-Seal Office. There is no reference to
Hoccleve's annuity. The roll for *Hilary* term following is
wanting. It may have been in that. The roll for Easter
1 Henry V., 1413, omits all reference to Hoccleve, because the
annuity had not then been confirmed by the new King.

provided the said Hoccleve is not retained by any one else. And we also grant him the arrears of his said Annuity since last Michaelmas, 1412. Given 28 Sept. 1413.

vite sue, cum aliquo alio preterquam nobiscum non retineatur. Et ulterius, de vberiori gracia nostra, concessimus prefato Thome, id quod ei retro est de annuitate sua predicta, a festo Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, habendum de dono nostro. In cuius etc. *Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxviiij die Septembris.*
Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XXVI.

1 Dec. 1413. Payment to Hoccleve of a year's arrear of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. to Michs. 1413.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry V.]

Die Veneris, primo die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve,—a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 8d. a year, which was confirmed by Henry V. on 28 Sept. last—in money paid to him,

for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last,

£13 6s. 8d.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Henricus, nuper Rex Anglie, xx marcas annuas ad Scaccarium suum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas Dominus Rex nunc, xxviiij^o die Septembris proximo preterito, confirmavit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xx marcarum, quas idem Dominus Rex nunc de vberiore gracia sua liberare mandauit, habendas de dono suo pro arrearagijs annuitatis predicte, videlicet pro terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis vltimis preteritis, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino. xiiij.li. vj.s. viij.d.¹

XXVII.

17 Jan. 1414. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 6s. 8d., for nine months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 2 Hen. V.]

Die Jouis, xvij^o die Januarij.

To Thos. Occlve, paid by the hands of his clerk, Jn. Welde,

Thome Occllyffe, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis, per manus Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, in persolucionem xxvj. s. viij. d. quos

¹ Master John Prophete is still Keeper of the Privy Seal, and receives "wages and fees," at the rate of 20^s. a day. A payment to John Welde and five companions in the Privy-Seal Office, for copying out old "truces" with foreign countries, at the rate of 6s. 8d. to each, is quoted in Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 331.

Dominus Rex eidem Thome liberare mandauit, pro pergameno, incausto, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis, et expenditis¹ in officio priuati sigilli dicti Domini Regis, videlicet, a quinto die Marcij vltimo preterito, vsque xiiij diem Decembris extunc proxime sequentem; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino

for parchment, ink, and red wax, expended in the Office, from 5 March 1413, to 13 Dec.

xxvj s. viij d. 26s. 8d.

XXVIII.

1414, Easter, 2 Hen. V. 2 May, Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one &c. 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 2 May 1414. 26 13s. 4d. to Easter.

[Thomas Chaucers, Esquire (scutifer), was sent to the Dukes of Burgundy & Holland.]

XXIX.

1415, Easter, 3 Hen. V. No payment on the Pells Roll. No Auditors' Roll. (A William Hokhyrst is mentioned.) The payment seems however to have been made, as the Tellers' Roll for Trinity, 3 Henry V., contains the following undated entry—

... 1415.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter 1415.

"Thome Occleve, de certo suo annuo . x. marca."

XXX.

1415, Mich., 3 Hen. V. 29 Feb., 1416, Saturday. "To Thomas Hoccleve, one of the Clerks of the Lord the King of the Office of his Privy Seal," for Michaelmas, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (This is a fuller description than usual.)

29 Feb. 1416.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs. 1415.

XXXI.

18 July, 1416. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve by 3 instalments, through friends, of £6 13s. 4d. to Easter, with 13s. 4d. on loan.

Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 4 Hen. V.

Die Sabbati, xviiij^o die Julij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, cui Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglie, pater Domini Regis nunc, xx marcas ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones per-

Thomas Occleue.
To him, a Clerk of the Privy-Seal Office,

¹ Expenditis, for expensis.

paid thro'
Jn. Burgh 2s.
thro' Rob.
Welton, 6s. 8d.,
thro' Jn. Welde,
Hoccleve's clerk,
24 6s. 8d.,
to Easter, 1416,

26 13s. 4d.,

and thro'
Jn. Welde,
as a loan, 13s. 4d.

cupiendas, per literas suas concessit,—quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit:—In denarijs sibi liberatis, videlicet, per manus Johannis Burgh',¹ xl. s.; per manus Roberti Welton',² vj. s. viij. d.; et per manus Johannis Welde,³ Clerici sui, iiij. li. vj. s. viij. d., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xij. s. iiij. d. Eidem Thome, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus predicti Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, de prestito super huiusmodi certo suo xij. s. iiij. d. vnde

Respondebit.

XXXII.

14 Feb. 1417. Payment to Hoccleve of
£2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 4 Hen. V.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij^o die Februarij.

To him, thro'
Jn. Welde, his
clerk,

for ink and red
wax, bought of
Walter Lucy,

Thome [Hoccleve⁴], vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Welde,⁵ clerici sui, in persolucionem xlvj. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberare mandauit, pro incausto et cera rubia per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy, haberdassher, London', et inter xvj diem

¹ John Burgh, "Esquire," is still mentioned on m. 9 as receiving an annuity of 20l. under a grant of Richard II; see p. lii.

² Robert Welton is also mentioned on this Roll, m. 9 and 14, as one of the Clerks of the Receipt of the Exchequer. He had an annuity of 20l. by grant of Henry IV., and had been sent to Boston and Hull to oversee the customers [receivers of customs-dues], and ascertain the amounts of their receipts.

³ On 27 May, John Welde, "one of the Clerks in the Office of the Privy Seal," received 20s., which the King commanded to be paid him as a reward for his labours in that Office.

⁴ Blank: no doubt meant for Hoccleve.

⁵ 1418, Pells Issue Rolls, Easter, 6 Hen. V.

"Die Veneris xij^o die Maij. Johanni Welde et Willelmo Albertyn, Clericis in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem liij. s. iiij. d. eis liberandarum de regardo speciali, per ausamentum Consilij Domini Regis, eis facto pro laboribus per ipsos habitis in officio predicto per tres annos vltimos preteritos, tam apud Calesium [Calais] quam infra regnum Anglie, absque feodo vel annuitate de Rege percepto per idem tempus; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino liij. s. iiij. d."

Decembris anno secundo et iiij^{to} diem Aprilis anno
quarto expendentis¹ in officio predicto; per breue de
priuato sigillo inter mandata de termino Pasche ultimo
preterito xlvj. s. viij. d. from 16 Dec. 1414
to 4 April, 1416,
22 6s. 8d.

XXXIII.

13 March, Saturday. Payment of the annuity for
Michaelmas, "by his own hands,"—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 13 March 1417.
23 13s. 4d.
to Micha. 1416.

XXXIV.

1417, Easter, 5 Hen. V. 25 May, Friday. To Thomas
Hoccleve, one &c., for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (It does
not say that the payment was made to "his own
hands.") 25 May 1417.
23 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXV.

1417, Micha. 5 Henry V. 30 Nov. Monday. Payment
of part, "by his own hands,"—3^l. 6^s. 8^d. 30 Nov. 1417.
23 6s. 8d.
10 Feb. Thursday. Payment of the rest, "by
his own hands,"—3^l. 6^s. 8^d.³ 10 Feb. 1418,
23 6s. 8d.
to Micha. 1417.

XXXVI.

1418, Easter, 6 Hen. V. 1 July, Friday. Payment
to Hoccleve for Easter term,—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 1 July, 1418,
23 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXVII.

1418, Micha. 6 Hen. V. 7 Dec., Wednesday. To
Thomas Hocclif, one, &c., for Michaelmas, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.
(It does not say "by his own hands.") 7 Dec., 1418,
23 13s. 4d.
to Micha.

XXXVIII.

1419, Easter, 7 Hen. V. 8 July, Saturday. To Thomas
Hoccleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Easter,
6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 8 July, 1419,
23 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXIX.

1419, July 10. Payment of 12s. 2d. to
Hoccleve for 16 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Hen. V.²]

¹ Sic, for *expendentis*, or *expenditis*, as in other accounts.

² John, Lord of Furnyvall, Keeper of the King's land of
Ireland, is mentioned on membrane 15.

Die Lune, x^o die Julij (1419).

Thomas
Hoccleve.

To him, for
red wax and ink
bought of
Walter Lucy,
from March 6,
1418, to July 10,
1419,
12s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi deliberatis per manus proprias, pro cera rubea et incausto,¹ de Waltero Lucy, Ciui et haberdassher London', per ipsum emptis, et in officio predicto inter vj^{imo} diem Marcij anno quinto et x^m diem Julij anno vij^{mo} expeditis; per breue de priuato Sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . xij. s. ij. d.

XL.

22 Nov. 1419.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs., 1419.

1419, Michs. 7 Hen. V. 22 Nov. Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., for Michs., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (It does not say "by his own hands.")

XLI.

17 June, 1420.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

1420, Easter, 8 Hen. V. 17 June, Monday. Payment for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. "by his own hands."

XLII.

26 Nov. 1420.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

1420, Michs. 8 Hen. V. 26 Nov., Tuesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Mich., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.

XLIII.

5 July, 1421.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

1421, Easter, 9 Hen. V. 5 July, Saturday. Payment to Hoccleve for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. "by his own hands."

XLIV.

11 Nov. 1421.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

1421, Michs. 9 Hen. V. 11 Nov., Tuesday. Similar payment to Hoccleve, "by his own hands."

¹ The payments for parchment during this time were made direct to Lucy: see Pells Issue Roll, Mich. 7 Hen. V., A.D. 1419: "Die Jonis xxx^{mo} die Nouembris. Waltero Lucy, Ciui et Haberdassher London', In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergamento pro officio priuati sigilli, tempore festinacionis et necessitatis ab eo empto ad vices: per breue generale vt supra—xij. s. vj. d." In the next roll, Easter, 8 Hen. V., under date of 3 July, there is another payment to Lucy for four bundles of parchment at certain prices, for the office of the Privy Seal, and for the Receipt of the Exchequer, under a general writ.

XLV.

23 Feb. 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 9 Hen. V., 1421.]

Die Lune, xxiiij. die Februarij [1422].

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, et Willelmo Alberton', Clerico in eodem officio, In denarijs eis liberatis, videlicet, per manus predicti Thome, xl.s. xj.d. ob. pro cera rubea et incausta¹ emptis de Waltero Lucy, Ciui Londonie, ad opus Regis, et expensis in dicto officio, videlicet, a x^{mo} die Julij Anno vij. eiusdem Regis vsque x^{mo} diem Februarij vltimo preteritum; et per manus dicti Willelmi, xvij.s. iiij.d. tam pro pergamento per ipsum empto ad opus dicti Regis et expedito in dicto officio, tempore quo dictus Rex vltimo erat apud Eboracum et partes ibidem, quam pro solucione per ipsum nuper facta apud Ciuitatem Lincolnie diuersis personis ibidem, pro certis literis Regis portandis in Comitatum Cornubie; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino

lix.s. iij.d. ob.²

Thomas Hoccleue.
To him

40s. 11½*d.*
for red wax and ink bought for the Privy Seal Office from July 10, 1419 to Feb. 10, 1422;
and to Wm. Alberton 18s. 4*d.* for parchment bought

when Hen. V. was at York, and for money paid at Lincoln for sending the King's letters to Cornwall;

£s 12s. 3*d.*

XLVI.

25 May, 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of his half-yearly £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Hen. V.]

Die Lune, xxv. die Maij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, patris Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas singulis annis ad Scaccarium suum, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, ad terminus Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas

To Thome Hoccleue, Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office of Hen. IV.,

who gave him £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year for life, for his good service,

¹ So, for 'incausto.'

² Among the "Liberationes" to the "ministers" of the Exchequer from 14 January to 28 March is the following entry: "Waltero Lucy de London', Haberdassher, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergamento ab eo empto, tam pro officio Thesaurarij et Camerariorum de Scaccario, quam priuati Sigilli Domini Regis xl.v.s. ij.d."

There is a duplicate of this roll.

XIII.

16 Jan. 1408. Payment to Hoccleve of £4 3s. 2½*d.* on account for 16 months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Auditors' Issue Roll, Michs. 9 Hen. IV.]

Tuesday, 16 Jan. 1408.

£4 3s. 2½*d.*

for parchment,
from 27 March
1408 to 12 July
1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occleve, clerk," of 4*l.* 3*s.* 2½*d.* (part of a larger sum of 7*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.*) for parchment, ink, and red wax, from 27 March, 7 Hen. IV. (1406) to 12 July, 8 Hen. IV. (1407), by the King's command.

XIV.

Saturday, 4 Feb. 1408.

4 Feb. 1408.

Half-yearly 25
to Michs. 1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occlyve, clerk," of 100*s.* for Michaelmas term, by his own hands.¹

XV.

7 July 1408.
£5 to Easter.

Easter, 9 Henry IV., 1408. Saturday, 7 July. To "Thomas Hocclyve Clerk," 100*s.*

XVI.

13 Feb. 1409.
£5 to Michs.

Michs. 10 Henry IV., 1408. Wednesday, 13 February, 1409. To Thomas Occliff, 100*s.*

XVII.

17 May 1409. Grant of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year from Michs. 1408, to Hoccleve, instead of his former yearly £10.

[Patent Roll, 10 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 24.]

Pro Thoma Hoccleue.

On Nov. 12, 1309,
on account of the
good service of
Thos. Hoccleve,
one of our Privy-
Seal clerks,

we granted him
£10 a year

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod cum duodecimo die Nouembrie, anno regni nostri primo, de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili seruicio quod dilectus seruiciens noster, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impenderat, et extunc impenderet: concesserimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti

¹ These were not found on the Pells Issue Roll, which is incomplete.

Michaelis, per equales porciones, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos foret promotus, prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; Nos, de vberiori gracia nostra ac in recompensacionem dicti seruicij sui, pro eo quod idem Thomas, dictas literas nostras in Cancellariam nostram restituit cancellandas, concessimus ei viginti marcas, percipiendas ad dictum Scaccarium nostrum, a festo Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xvij¹ die Maij.

for his life, or till we should promote him to a benefice worth £20 a year.

As Hoccleve has returned this grant to be canceled, we grant him 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year, from Michaelmas, 1409.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XVIII.

23 May 1409. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve of £6 13s. 4d. in respect of his fresh annuity of £13 6s. 8d.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris, xxij^o die Maij.

Thome Occluye, cui Dominus Rex nunc x.li. [for xx marcas] singulis annis, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum² sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.³

To Thos. Hoccleve,

in money paid to him,

for his $\frac{1}{2}$ year's annuity to last Easter, £6 13s. 4d.

XIX.

Michs. 11 Hen. IV., 22 Nov. 1409. Thomas Occliff or Occliff (no further description), £6 13s. 4d. The King had granted him ten pounds [for 20 marks] a year for life, for his good service, by letters patent. (Master John Prophete is Keeper of the Privy Seal.)

22 Nov. 1409.

£6 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas.

¹ xvij is written on an erasure.

² These sums are written on erasures, the amount having probably been originally written "C. s."; but the scribe omitted to alter the "x. li." at the beginning.

XX.

23 June, 1410. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 2s. 2d. for 14 months' ink, wax, and parchment.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 11 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xxiiij die Junij.

Thomas Hoccleue.
To him, in money by the hands of Jn. Weld, for ink, parchment, and red wax, from 21 Feb. 1409 to 24 April 1410, £1 2s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleue, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Weld,¹ in persolucionem xxij.s. ij.d. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit pro incausto, pergamento, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis et expendendis in officio predicto, videlicet, a xxj^o die Februarij anno x^o, vsque xxiiij^{to} diem Aprilis anno xj^o vltimo preterito, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xxij.s. ij.d.

XXI.

17 July 1410.
£6 13s. 4d. to Easter.

Easter, 11 Hen. IV. Thursday, 17 July. Thomas Hoccliff. The King had granted him 20 marks [13^l. 6^s. 8^d.] a year for life, by letters patent, payable half-yearly. (He is not called Clerk here. There is no payment to him for Michaelmas, 12 Hen. IV., A.D. 1410, either in the Pells or the Auditors' Roll.)

XXII.

8 July 1411.
£6 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas 1410.

1411, Easter,² 12 Hen. IV., 8 July. To Thomas Hoccliff (or Hoccliff?), one of the Clerks, &c., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.

XXIII.

26 Feb. 1412,
£13 6s. 8d., 1 year to Michs. 1411.

Michs. 13 Hen. IV. (1411), 26 Feb. 1412, Friday. To Thomas Occlive (or Occliff?), one, &c., 13^l 6^s. 8^d. for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last. This payment is also recorded in the Tellers' Roll for Hilary, 13 Hen. IV.³

¹ John Weld is afterwards described as Hoccleve's clerk. A John Wold or Wolde was keeper of the King's lions and leopards in the Tower of London; Mich., 10 Hen. IV., *et ante*.

² This, tho' call'd an Easter payment, was no doubt for Michs. 1410—see last entry, as the next payment is for the whole year 1411 (see XXVI). If not, Hoccleve was paid twice over for Easter 1411.

³ 1412, Easter, 13 Hen. IV. The Pells Issue Roll is wanting. The Auditors' Issue Roll and the Tellers' Roll are also wanting. 1412, Michs. 14 Hen. IV. No payment found. The Pells Roll seems to be imperfect, the first date being 25 January. There is no Auditors' Roll, but there is a Tellers' Roll for Michaelmas. (*See extract.*)

XXIV.

5 Nov. 1412. Payment to Hoccleve of 32s.
for parchment and ink.

[Tellers' Roll, Michs. 14 Hen. IV.]

Die Saboti, quinto die Nouembris.

[It is somewhat doubtful whether this date applies
to the following entry.]

Thome Hoccleffe, *per manus Johannis Weld'*, pro
pergameno et incausto emptis in officio Custodie priuati
sigilli xxxij.s.¹

To T. Hoccleve
for ink &c.,
32s.

XXV.

28 Sept. 1413. Inspeximus and Confirm-
ation by Henry V. of Hoccleve's Annuity
of £13 6s. 8d., with the arrears from
Michs. 1412.

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry V., part 4, membrane 25.]

De confirmatione—Hoccleue.

*Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus litem
patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Domini
Henrici nuper Regis Anglie factas in hec verba. Henricus
Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie
Omnibus ad quos [etc. as in the Patent Roll of 10
Henry IV., 17 May, 1409, p. liv, above]*

We have seen our
late Father's

grant of £13
6s. 8d. a year to
Thos. Hoccleve,

*Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, decimo septimo
die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo. Nos autem, de
gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono seruicio nobis per
prefatum Thomam impenso et impendendo, concessi-
onem predictam, ac omnia et singula in literis predictis
contenta, rata habentes et grata, ea pro nobis et heredi-
bus nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approba-
mus, et prefato Thome, tenore presencium, concedimus
et confirmamus, prout literis predictis racionabiliter tes-
tantur. Ita semper quod idem Thomas, pro termino*

on 17 May 1409;

and on account of
Hoccleve's good
service to us,

we approve and
confirm to him
the said Grant,

¹ There is also a payment to Thomas, late Lord of Furnyvall, and Sir John Pelham, late Treasurers of the Wars; also two payments to Walter Lucy for parchment for the Receipt of the Exchequer and the Privy-Seal Office. There is no reference to Hoccleve's annuity. The roll for *Hilary* term following is wanting. It may have been in that. The roll for Easter 1 Henry V., 1413, omits all reference to Hoccleve, because the annuity had not then been confirmed by the new King.

provided the said Hoccleve is not retained by any one else. And we also grant him the arrears of his said Annuity since last Michaelmas, 1412. Given 28 Sept. 1412.

vite sue, cum aliquo alio preterquam nobiscum non retineatur. Et ulterius, de vberiori gracia nostra, concessimus prefato Thome, id quod ei aretro est de annuitate sua predicta, a festo Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito, habendum de dono nostro. In cuius etc. *Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxviij die Septembris.*

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XXVI.

1 Dec. 1413. Payment to Hoccleve of a year's arrear of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. to Michs. 1413.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry V.]

Die Veneris, primo die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve,—a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 8d. a year, which was confirmed by Henry V. on 28 Sept. last—in money paid to him,

for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last,

£13 6s. 8d.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Henricus, nuper Rex Anglie, xx marcas annuas ad Scaccarium suum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas Dominus Rex nunc, xxviij^o die Septembris proximo preterito, confirmavit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xx marcarum, quas idem Dominus Rex nunc de vberiore gracia sua liberare mandauit, habendas de dono suo pro areragijs annuitatis predictae, videlicet pro terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis vltimis preteritis, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino. xiiij. li. vj. s. viij. d.¹

XXVII.

17 Jan. 1414. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 6s. 8d., for nine months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Micha. 2 Hen. V.]

Die Jouis, xvij^o die Januarij.

To Thos. Oocleue, paid by the hands of his clerk, Jn. Welde,

Thome Ooclyffe, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis, per manus Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, in persolucionem xxvj. s. viij. d. quos

¹ Master John Prophete is still Keeper of the Privy Seal, and receives "wages and fees," at the rate of 20^s. a day. A payment to John Welde and five companions in the Privy-Seal Office, for copying out old "truces" with foreign countries, at the rate of 6s. 8d. to each, is quoted in Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 331.

Dominus Rex eidem Thome liberare mandavit, pro pergameno, incausto, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis, et expenditis¹ in officio priuati sigilli dicti Domini Regis, videlicet, a quinto die Marcij vltimo preterito, vsque xiiij diem Decembris extunc proxime sequentem; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xxvj s. viij d.

for parchment, ink, and red wax, expended in the Office, from 5 March 1413, to 13 Dec.

26s. 8d.

XXVIII.

1414, Easter, 2 Hen. V. 2 May, Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one &c. 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.

2 May 1414.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

[Thomas Chancers, Esquire (*scutifer*), was sent to the Dukes of Burgundy & Holland.]

XXIX.

1415, Easter, 3 Hen. V. No payment on the Pells Roll. No Auditors' Roll. (A William Hokhyrst is mentioned.) The payment seems however to have been made, as the Tellers' Roll for Trinity, 3 Henry V., contains the following undated entry—

... 1415.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter 1415.

"Thome Occleve, de certo suo annuo . x. marca."

XXX.

1415, Mich., 3 Hen. V. 29 Feb., 1416, Saturday. "To Thomas Hoccleve, one of the Clerks of the Lord the King of the Office of his Privy Seal," for Michaelmas, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (This is a fuller description than usual.)

29 Feb. 1416.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs. 1415.

XXXI.

18 July, 1416. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve by 3 instalments, through friends, of £6 13s. 4d. to Easter, with 13s. 4d. on loan.

Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 4 Hen. V.

Die Sabbati, xvij^o die Julij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, cui Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglie, pater Domini Regis nunc, xx marcas ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones per-

Thomas
Occleue.
To him, a
Clerk of the
Privy-Seal Office,

¹ Expenditis, for expensis.

paid thro'
Jn. Burgh £2,
thro' Rob.
Welton, 6s. 8d.,
thro' Jn. Welde,
Hoccleve's clerk,
£4 6s. 8d.,
to Easter, 1416,

£2 13s. 4d.,

and thro'
Jn. Welde,
as a loan, 13s. 4d.

cupiendas, per literas suas concessit,—quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit:—In denarijs sibi liberatis, videlicet, per manus Johannis Burgh',¹ xl. s.; per manus Roberti Welton',² vj. s. viij. d.; et per manus Johannis Welde,³ Clerici sui, iiij. li. vj. s. viij. d., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xij. s. iiij. d. Eidem Thome, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus predicti Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, de prestito super huiusmodi certo suo xij. s. iiij. d. vnde

Respondebit.

XXXII.

14 Feb. 1417. Payment to Hoccleve of
£2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Micha. 4 Hen. V.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij^o die Februarij.

To him, thro'
Jn. Welde, his
clerk,

for ink and red
wax, bought of
Walter Lucy,

Thome [Hoccleve⁴], vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Welde,⁵ clerici sui, in persolucionem xlvj. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberare mandauit, pro incausto et cera rubia per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy, haberdassher, London', et inter xvj diem

¹ John Burgh, "Esquire," is still mentioned on m. 9 as receiving an annuity of 20*l.* under a grant of Richard II; see p. lii.

² Robert Welton is also mentioned on this Roll, m. 9 and 14, as one of the Clerks of the Receipt of the Exchequer. He had an annuity of 20*l.* by grant of Henry IV., and had been sent to Boston and Hull to oversee the customers [receivers of customs-dues], and ascertain the amounts of their receipts.

³ On 27 May, John Welde, "one of the Clerks in the Office of the Privy Seal," received 20*s.*, which the King commanded to be paid him as a reward for his labours in that Office.

⁴ Blank: no doubt meant for Hoccleve.

⁵ 1418, Pells Issue Rolls, Easter, 6 Hen. V.

"Die Veneris xij^o die Maij. Johanni Welde et Willelmo Albertyn, Clericis in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem liij. s. iiij. d. eis liberandorum de regardo speciali, per ausamentum Consilij Domini Regis, eis facto pro laboribus per ipsos habitis in officio predicto per tres annos vltimos preteritos, tam apud Calaisiam [Calais] quam infra regnum Anglie, absque feodo vel annuitate de Rege percepto per idem tempus; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino liij. s. iiij. d."

Decembris anno secundo et iiij^{to} diem Aprilis anno
quarto expendentis¹ in officio *predicto*; *per breue* de
priuato sigillo inter mandata de termino Pasche vltimo
preterito xlvj. s. viij. d. 22 6s. 8d.
from 16 Dec. 1414
to 4 April, 1416,

XXXIII.

13 March, Saturday. Payment of the annuity for
Michaelmas, "by his own hands,"—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 13 March 1417.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs. 1416.

XXXIV.

1417, Easter, 5 Hen. V. 25 May, Friday. To Thomas
Hoccleve, one &c., for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (It does
not say that the payment was made to "his own
hands.") 25 May 1417.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXV.

1417, Michs. 5 Henry V. 30 Nov. Monday. Payment
of part, "by his own hands,"—3^l. 6^s. 8^d. 30 Nov. 1417.
23 6s. 8d.
10 Feb. Thursday. Payment of the rest, "by
his own hands,"—3^l. 6^s. 8^d.³ 10 Feb. 1418,
23 6s. 8d.
to Michs. 1417.

XXXVI.

1418, Easter, 6 Hen. V. 1 July, Friday. Payment
to Hoccleve for Easter term,—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 1 July, 1418,
to Easter.

XXXVII.

1418, Michs. 6 Hen. V. 7 Dec., Wednesday. To
Thomas Hocclif, one, &c., for Michaelmas, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 7 Dec., 1418,
26 13s. 4d.
(It does *not* say "by his own hands.") to Michs.

XXXVIII.

1419, Easter, 7 Hen. V. 8 July, Saturday. To Thomas
Hoccleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Easter,
6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 8 July, 1419,
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXIX.

1419, July 10. Payment of 12s. 2d. to
Hoccleve for 16 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Hen. V.²]

¹ Sic, for *expendentis*, or *expenditis*, as in other accounts.

² John, Lord of Furnyvall, Keeper of the King's land of
Ireland, is mentioned on membrane 15.

Die Lune, x^o die Julij (1419).

Thomas
Hoccleve.
To him, for
red wax and ink
bought of
Walter Lucy,
from March 6,
1418, to July 10,
1419,
12s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi deliberatis per manus proprias, pro cera rubea et incausto,¹ de Waltero Lucy, Ciui et haberdassher London', per ipsum emptis, et in officio predicto inter vj^{tu}m diem Marcij anno quinto et x^m diem Julij anno vij^{mo} expenditis; per breue de priuato Sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xij. s. ij. d.

XL.

22 Nov. 1419.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs., 1419.

1419, Michs. 7 Hen. V. 22 Nov. Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., for Michs., 6l. 13s. 4d. (It does not say "by his own hands.")

XLI.

17 June, 1420.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

1420, Easter, 8 Hen. V. 17 June, Monday. Payment for Easter, 6l. 13s. 4d. "by his own hands."

XLII.

26 Nov. 1420.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

1420, Michs. 8 Hen. V. 26 Nov., Tuesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Mich., 6l. 13s. 4d.

XLIII.

5 July, 1421.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

1421, Easter, 9 Hen. V. 5 July, Saturday. Payment to Hoccleve for Easter, 6l. 13s. 4d. "by his own hands."

XLIV.

11 Nov. 1421.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

1421, Michs. 9 Hen. V. 11 Nov., Tuesday. Similar payment to Hoccleve, "by his own hands."

¹ The payments for parchment during this time were made direct to Lucy: see Pells Issue Roll, Mich. 7 Hen. V., A.D. 1419: "Die Jouis xxx^{mo} die Nouembris. Waltero Lucy, Ciui et Haberdassher London', In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergamento pro officio priuati sigilli, tempore festinacionis et necessitatis ab eo empto ad vices: per breue generale vt supra—xij. s. vj. d." In the next roll, Easter, 8 Hen. V., under date of 3 July, there is another payment to Lucy for four bundles of parchment at certain prices, for the office of the Privy Seal, and for the Receipt of the Exchequer, under a general writ.

XLV.

23 Feb. 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Micha. 9 Hen. V., 1421.]

Die Lune, xxij. die Februarij [1422].

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, et Willelmo Alberton', Clerico in eodem officio, In denarijs eis liberatis, videlicet, per manus predicti Thome, xl.s. xj.d. ob. pro cera rubea et incauste¹ emptis de Waltero Lucy, Ciui Londonie, ad opus Regis, et expensis in dicto officio, videlicet, a x^{mo} die Julij Anno vij. eiusdem Regis vsque x^{am} diem Februarij vltimo preteritum; et per manus dicti Willelmi, xvij.s. iiij.d. tam pro pergamento per ipsum empto ad opus dicti Regis et expedito in dicto officio, tempore quo dictus Rex vltimo erat apud Eboracum et partes ibidem, quam pro solucione per ipsum nuper facta apud Ciuitatem Lincolnie diuersis personis ibidem, pro certis literis Regis portandis in Comitatum Cornubie; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino

lix.s. iij.d. ob.²

Thomas Hoccleue. To him

40s. 11½*d.* for red wax and ink bought for the Privy Seal Office from July 10, 1419 to Feb. 10, 1422; and to Wm. Alberton 18s. 4*d.* for parchment bought

when Hen. V. was at York, and for money paid at Lincoln for sending the King's letters to Cornwall;

23 19s. 3½*d.*

XLVI.

25 May, 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of his half-yearly £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Hen. V.]

Die Lune, xxv. die Maij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, patris Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas singulis annis ad Scaccarium suum, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, ad terminus Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas

To Thos. Hoccleue, Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office of Hen. IV.,

who gave him £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year for life, for his good service,

¹ So, for 'incausto.'

² Among the "Liberationes" to the "ministers" of the Exchequer from 14 January to 28 March is the following entry: "Waltero Lucy de London', Haberdassher, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergamento ab eo empto, tam pro officio Thesaurarij et Camerariorum de Scaccario, quam priuati Sigilli Domini Regis xlv.s. ij.d."

There is a duplicate of this roll.

lxvi *Hoccleve's Annuity Confirmed. Payment to Him in 1423.*

and Hen. V.
confirmed it,—

26 2s. 7½d. by
assignment,
and 10s. 8½d. in
money;

26 13s. 4d.

suas patentes concessit, quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, videlicet, per assignacionem factam isto die, vj.li. ij.s. vij.d. ob., et in moneta x.s. viij.d. ob., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberatarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito; per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

XLVII.

24 Jan. 1423. Inspeximus and Confirmation by Henry VI. of Hoccleve's Annuity of £13 6s. 8d.

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry VI., part 2, membrane 7.]

De confirmacione—Hoccleue.

We have seen the
confirmation by
Henry V.

of Hoccleve's
Annuity of
£13 6s. 8d. granted
by Hen. IV.

on 28 Sept. 1413.

By the advice of
Our Council,
We approve and
confirm the same.

24 Jan. 1423-3.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Regis Henrici quinti defuncti, de confirmacione factas in hec verba: "Henricus, Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie, et Dominus Hend',¹ Omnibus ad quos (&c., as in the Patent of 1 Hen. V., 28 Sept. 1413). In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, vicesimo octavo die Septembris anno regni nostri primo." Nos autem dictas literas ipsius patris nostri, de auiamento magni Consilij nostri, approbamus, ratificamus et confirmamus, prout litere predictae rationabiliter testantur. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxiiij die Januarij.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XLVIII.

15 Feb. 1423. Payment to Hoccleve of a half-year's Annuity (£6 13s. 4d.) to Michs. 1422.

[Pells Issue Rolls, Michaelmas, 1 Henry VI.]

¹ Sic, for Hibernie.

Die Lune, xv° die Februarij.

Thome Hoccleue, nuper vni clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc: cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruiicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas ad Scaccarium suum, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas pater¹ Regis nunc ac idem Dominus Rex confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

To Thos. Hoccleue, late a Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, to whom Henry IV. granted £13. 6s. 8d. a year for his life,

and Henry V. and VI. confirmd it,—in money paid

for a half-year's annuity to Michs. 1423, £6 13s. 4d.

XLIX.

20 May 1423. Payment to Hoccleve of a half-year's Annuity, £6 13s. 4d., to Easter 1423.

[Polls Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Hen. VI.]

Die Jouis, xx° die Maij.²

Thome Hoccleue, nuper vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili seruiicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo—xx. marcas percipiendas ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas Dominus Henricus nuper Rex, pater Regis nunc, ac idem Dominus Rex nunc confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

Thomas Hoccleue, late a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 4d. a year,

and Henry V. and VI.

confirmd it—in money paid to for a ½ years' him annuity to

Easter, 1423, £6 13s. 4d.

¹ This is expressed more fully in the following Roll.

² This heading applies to both this and the next Hoccleve entry on this roll, but they are some distance apart.

L.

20 May 1423. Grant to Hoccleve of 23s. 1d. for red wax and ink, bought for the Privy-Seal Office.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry VI.]

Thomas Hoccleus, of the Privy-Seal Office, paid to him for red wax and ink, bought of Walter Lucy of London, for the Office, from 9 Feb. 1422 to 19 May 1423,

23s. 1d.

Thome Hoccleue, de officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xxij.s. iiij.d.¹ quos Dominus Rex nunc eidem Thome liberare mandauit pro cera rubea et incausto, per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy de London', et in dicto officio expensis, a ix^o die Februarij, anno ix^o Regis Henrici quinti, patris Regis nunc, vsque xix die[m] Maij vltimo preteritum, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . xxij.s. j.d.²

LI.

4 July 1424. Grant to Hoccleve of the Corrody that the late Nicholas Mokkyng had in the Priory of Southwick, Hants.

[*Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1422-9, vol. iii, p. 152, ed. Nicolas, 1834.]

[Additional MS. in British Museum 4604, art. 34; a modern Transcript.—Petition to the King and Council, with the answer, 4th July, 2 Hen. VI. 1424.]

To the King and Council.

Thos. Hoccleue of the Privy-Seal Office begs you to grant him such provision for life in Southwick Priory, Hants, as the late N. Mokkyng had.

"Au Roy, nostre tresredoute et souverain seigneur, et as tresnobles et tressages seigneurs de son Consail.

"Supplie votre treshumble clerc, Thomas Hoccleue, de l'office du prive seal, quil plaise a voz tresnobles seignuries lui granter autiele sustenance, a prendre chascun an durante sa vie, en la priore de Suthwyk en contée de Suthampton, come Nichol Mokkyng, que mort est,—nadgaire Maistre de Saint Laurance de Ponteneye en Londres—avoit et prist en la dicte priorie quant il vesquist,³ pour Dieu et en oeuvre de charitee.

¹ Sic.

² "j.d." is written over an erasure; probably a correction of the "iiij.d." above.

³ As Hoccleve's annuity was paid to Michs. 1425, it isn't certain that this Southwick corrody was worth £20 a year so as to stop the King's annuity under the original (p. xlix) and the substituted Grants. But the Treasurer no doubt did stop it after 1425.

"H. Gloucestre. H. Cantuariensis. J. Londoniensis. H. Wyntoniensis. Philippus Wygorniensis. Warrewyk. Scrop. Hungerford.

"(In dorso) iiij die Julij, anno secundo, apud Westmonasterium, concessa fuit præsens supplicatio in forma qua petitur, præsentibus dominis infrascriptis."

4 July 1424.
Hoccleve's
petition is
granted.

LII.

1424, Michs. 3 Hen. VI. Thomas Hocclyff, late one of the Clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, to Henry IV., who for his good service gave him 20 marks yearly by letters patent, confirmed by the present King:—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. for the half-year, paid into his own hands on Monday, 27 November.

27 Nov. 1424.
26 13s. 4d. to
Michaelmas.

LIII.

11 Feb. 1426. Payment of Hoccleve's last half-year's Annuity (£6 13s. 4d.) to Michs. 1425.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 4 Hen. VI.]

Die Lune, xj^o die Februarij.

Thome Hocclyff, nuper vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Angliæ, aui Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo—xx [marcas]¹ percipiendas singulis annis ad Scaccarium suum durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Angliæ, pater Regis, ac idem Dominus Rex nunc, confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolutionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino

To Thos. Hoccleve, late one of the Clerks in the Privy-Seal Office,

to whom
£15 6s. 8d. a year
was granted by
Henry V.—

in money paid
to him

for his $\frac{1}{2}$ year's
Annuity to
Michs. 1425,

vj li. xiiij s. iiij d. 26 13s. 4d.

There is nothing about Hoccleve in the Polls Issue Rolls of Easter 4 Hen. VI, 1426; Michs. 5 Hen. VI, 1426; Easter 10 Hen. VI, 1432; Easter 15 Hen. VI,

¹ Omitted.

1437; Easter 17 Hen. VI, 1439; Michaelmas 19 Hen. VI, 1440; Easter 20 Hen. VI, 1442; Easter 25 Hen. VI, 1447.

1440. In the Pells Issue Roll for Easter, 18 Hen. VI, there is a payment to "divers Clerks of the King's Privy Seal," of the King's gift, as a reward for transcribing the Agreements made with the Emperor—5 marks. And another payment to "Thomas Fraunk,¹ one of the Clerks, and Filacer in the office of the King's Privy Seal."² But there is no reference to Hoccleve.

The foregoing notices were obtained from the Patent Rolls and the Exchequer Rolls only by dint of searching through some hundreds of membranes—perhaps about 1500. Few, if any, of them are referred to in the meagre indexes.

¹ Or Franke.

² Was he the successor of Hoccleve? He is also mentioned in Easter 15 Hen. VI., Easter 17 Hen. VI., and Mich. 19 Hen. VI.

HOCCLEVE'S MINOR POEMS.

A.D. 1413—1446.

Phillipps MS. 8151 (formerly Prince Henry's, Son of James I).
leaf 3 : vellum, ab. 1450 A.D.

The Complaynte of the Virgin before the Cross.

(englight by command of LADY HEREFORD.)

(In 5-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*)

[The first leaf of the MS. and of this *Complaynte* (*a* 1) is lost. The first 2 leavs of the Poem to 'Oldcastel,' sign. *a* 7, 8, have been put befor the 2nd leaf of the Virgin *Complaynte* (sign. *a* 2), to prevent the MS. looking incomplete. Ther was thus at least one rascaly bookseller in James I's time.]

[7]

¶ O Womman,—*pat* among the peple speak' 43
How *pat* the wombe blessid was *pat* beer,
And the tetes *pat* yaf to sowken eek'
The sone of god / which on hy hangith heer,—
What seist thou now / why comest thou no neer? 47
Why nart thou heere? / o womman, where art thou,
That nat ne seest my woful wombe now? 49

[sign. *a* 2, leaf 3]
O Woman (*Luke*,
xi. 27) who sed
my Womb was
'blessed,' where
art thou now?

[8]

¶ O Simeon / thou seidest me ful sooth 50
'The strook' that perce shal my sones herte,
My soule thirle it shal' / and so it dooth :
The wownde of deeth ne may I nat astate,
Ther may no martirdom me make smerte 54
So sore as this martree smertith me :
So sholde he seyn / *pat* myn hurt mighte see. 56

O Simeon, the
sword that pierst
my Son's heart

(*Luke*, ii. 35)
pierces mine too!

[9]

O Father and
Mother! why did
ye breed me?

¶ O. Ioachim / o deere fadir myn! 57
And seint Anne, my modir deere also!
To what entente / or to what ende or fyn
Broghten yee me foorth / þat am greeued so!
Mirthe is to me become a verray fo. 61
Your fadir Dauid / þat an harpoure was,
Conforted folk þat stood in heuy cas. 63

[10]

Ye cannot comfort
me.

Me thynkith yee nat doon to me aright, 64
þat were his successours / syn instrument
Han yee noon left / wher-with me make light,
And me conforte, in my woful torment.
Me to doon ese / han yee no talent, 68
And knowen myn conforteless distresse:
Yee oghten weepe for myn heynessee. 70

[11]

O Son,

think how I nurst
and kist Thee!

¶ O blessid sone / on thee wole I out throwe 71
My salte teeres / for oonly on thee
My look is set / o thynke / how many a throwe
Thow in myn armes lay / and on my knee
Thow sat / & haddist many a kus of me. 75
Eek thee, to sowke, on my breestes yaf y,
Thee norisshyng faire & tendrely. 77

[12]

Now Death takes
Thee from me!

Now thee fro me, withdrawith bittir deeth, 78
And makith a wrongful disseuerance.
Thynke nat, sone / in me þat any breeth
Endure may / þat feele al this greuance;
My martirdom me hath at the outrance; 82
I needes sterue moot / syn I thee see
Shamely nakid, strecchid on a tree. 84

[13]

[leaf 4]

And this me sleeth / þat in the open day 85
Thyn hertes wownde shewith him so wyde

- þat alle folk see and beholde it may,
 So largeliche opned is thy syde.
 O ! wo is me, syn I nat may it hyde ! 89
 And, among othre of my smerte greeues,
 Thow put art also, sone, amonges theeues, 91
 And, alas ! Thow
 art set among
 thieves !
- [14]
- As thow were an euel & wikkid wight. 92
 And, lest þat somme folk' par auenture
 No knowleche hadde of thy persone aright,
 Thy name, Pilat hath put in scripture,
 þat knowe mighte it euery creature, 96
 For thy penance sholde nat been hid.
 O / wo is me / þat al this see betid ! 98
 Thy name is
 written up that
 all folk may know
 Thee.
- [15]
- How may myn yen, þat beholde al this, 99
 Restreyne hem for to shewe by weepyng
 Myn hertes greef / moot I nat weepe ? O yis !
 Sone, if thow haddist a fadir lyuynge,
 That wolde weepe & make waymentynge, 103
 For þat he hadde paart of thy persone,
 That were a greet abreggyng of my none. 105
 Thou hast no
 father living to
 comfort me.
- [16]
- But thow in eerthe / fadir haddist neuere ; 106
 No wight for thee / swich cause hath for to pleyne,
 As þat haue I / shalt thow fro me disseuere,
 þat aart al heolly myn ? my sorwes deepe
 Han al myn hertes ioie leid to sleepe. 110
 No wight with me, in thee, my sone, hath part :
 Hoolly of my blood¹ / deere chyld / thow art. 112
 Thou art wholly
 my child.
- [17]
- That doublith al my torment & my greef. 113
 Vn-to myn herte / it is confusion,
 Thyn harm to see / þat art to me so leef.
 Mighte nat, sone / the Redempcioun
 I grieve to see
 Thee hurt.

¹ MS. bleed.

	Of man han bee withoute effusioun	117
	Of thy blood? yis / if it had been thy lust.	
But what Thou wilt, be done!	But what thow wilt be doon / souffre me must!	119
	[18]	
	O deeth / so thow kythist thy bittirnesse	120
	First on my sone / & aftirward on me.	
	Bittir art thou / & ful of crabbidnesse,	
Death, who hast slain my Son,	That my sone hast slayn thurgh thy crueltee,	
	And nat me sleest / certain, nat wole I flee.	124
alay me!	Come of / come of / & slee me heere, as blyue!	
	Departe from him / wole I nat a lyue!	126
	[19]	
[leaf 5] O Moon and Stars,	¶ O moone / o sterres / and thou firmament!	127
	How may yee, fro wepynge yow restreyne,	
	And seen your Creatour in swich torment?	
	Yee oghiten troublid been in euery veine,	
weep with me!	And his despitous deeth / with me compleyne.	131
	Weepeth & crieth as lowde as yee may,	
	Our Creatour with wrong is slayn this day.	133
	[20]	
[¹ But see Luke xxiii. 43-5, &c.] Darknes from the 6th to the 9th hour. O Sun, why leavest thou my Son uncoverd here?	¶ O sonne, with thy cleere bemes brighte, ¹	134
	þat seest my child nakid this nones tyde,	
	Why souffrest thou him, in the open sighte	
	Of the folk heere / vnkeuened abyde?	
	Thou art as moche, or more, holde him to hyde,	138
	Than Sem, þat helid his Fadir Noe	
	Whan he espyde þat nakid was he.	140
	[21]	
	If thou his sone be / do lyk ther-to!	141
	Come of / withdrawe thy bemes brightnesse!	
	Thow art to blame / but if thou so do.	
Hide his naked- ness!	For shame / hyde my sones nakidnesse!	
	Is ther in thee no sparcle of kyndenesse?	145
He is thy Lord.	Remembre he is thy lord and Creatour!	
	Now keuere him / for thy woraschip & honour!	147

[22]

¶ O eerthe / what lust hast thou to susteene	148	[leaf 5, back]
The crois on which he þat thee made, and it,		O Earth, cleave
Is hangid ? / and aourned thee with greene		
Which þat thou werist / how hast thou thee qwit		
Vn-to thy lord ? / o do this for him .yit !	152	
O ! wake for doel / & cleue thou in two,		In two, and re-
And al þat blood / restore me vn-to,	154	store my Son's blood !

[23]

Which thou hast dronke / it myn is, & not thyn ;	155	
Or elles thus / withouten tarynge		
Tho bodyes dede / whiche in thee þat lyn,		or cast out thy dead !
Caste out / for they, by taast of swich dewyng,		
Hem oghte clothe ageyn in hir clothyng.	159	
Thow Caluarie / thou art namely		Calvary, do this !
Holden for to do so / to thee speke Y.	161	

[24]

O deere sone / myn deeth neighith faste,	162	
Syn to an othir / thou hast youen me		
Than vn-to thee / & how may my lyf laste,		How can I live ?
þat me yeuest any othir than thee ?		
Thogh he / whom thou me yeuest / maiden be,	166	
And thogh by iust balance / thou weye al,		
The weichte of him & thee / nat is egal.	168	

[25]

He a disciple is / & thou art a Lord ;	169	[leaf 6]
Thow al away art gretter than he is ;		
Betwixt your mightes / is ther greet discord.		
My woful torment / doublid is by this ;		
I needes mourne moot / & fare amis ;	173	Thou seemest to have severed me from Thee for ever.
It seemeth þat thou makist departyng		
Twixt thee & me for ay / withoute endyng ;	175	

[26]

And namely / syn thou me 'womman' callist,	176	Thou calledst me 'Woman !'
As I to thee straunge were and vnknowe ;		
Therthurgh, my sone / thou my ioie appallist ;		

	Wel feele I þat deeth his vengeable bowe Hath bent / & me purposith doun to throwe.	180
My name is changed!	Of sorwe talke may I nat ynow, Syn fro ¹ my name / I-doon away is now.	182
	[27]	
I am <i>Mara</i> (bitter);	Wel may men clepe and calle me 'Mara'! From hennes forward, so may men me call. How sholde I lenger' clept be 'Maria', Syn 'I', which is <i>Ihesus</i> , is fro me fall	183
my sweetness is turn'd to gall!	This day / al my swetnesse is in-to gall Torned, syn þat 'I', which was the beautee Of my name / this day hynome is me.	187 189
	[28]	
[leaf 6, back] O John, how	¶ O Iohn, my deere freend! thow haast receyued A woful modir / and an heuy sone Haue I of thee / deeth hath myn othir weyued!	190
can we avoid death?	How may we two, the deeth eschue or shone? We dreery wightes two / wher may we wone? Thou art of confort / destitut / I see; And so am I / ful careful been wee!	194 196
	[29]	
So full of woe are we,	Vn-to oure hertes / deeth hath sent his wownde: Noon of vs may alleggen othres payne. So manye sorwes in vs two habownde, We han no might, fro sorwe vs restreyne;	197
	I see non othir / die moot we tweyne;	201
let us die!	Now let vs steruen heer par compaignie! Sterue thow there / & heere wole I die.	203
	[30]	
O Angels, your Creator is slain!	¶ O Angels / thogh yee mourne and waile & weepe ² , Yee do no wrong / slayn is your Creatour By the folk' þat yee weren wont to keepe And gye & lede / they to dethes shour Han put him / thogh yee han wo & langour,	204 208

¹ 'me' left out, for want of power to work it in.

² Cp. Chaucer's 'wrynge & waile & weepe,' Clerk's *Envoy*.
Cant. Tales.

- No wondir is it / who may blame yow?
 And yit ful cheer he had hem þat him slow. 210
 [31]
 ¶ O / special loue / þat me ioyned haast 211 [leaf 7]
 Vn-to my sone / strong is thy knyttynge ! O Love,
 This day ther-in fynde I a bittir taast ;
 For now the taast I feele, & the streynynge
 Of deeth / by thy deeth / feele I deeth me styngc. 215 now I feel Death's sting!
 O poore modir / what shalt thou now seye ?
 Poore Marie / thy wit is awaye ! 217
 [32]
 Marie ? nay / but 'marred' I thee call. 218 I am not Mary,
 So may I wel / for thou art / wel I woot, but 'marred,'
 Vessel of care & wo, & sorwes all ! a vessel of woe !
 Now thou art frosty cold / now fyry hoot ;
 And right as þat a ship, or barge, or boot, 222
 Among the wawes dryueth steerelees,
 So doost thou, woful womman, confortlees ! 224
 [33]
 And of modir / haast thou eek' lost the style : 225 Mother am I, no more.
 No more maist thou clept be by thy name !
 ¶ O sones of Adam / al to long whyle Sons of Adam,
 Yee tarien hens / hieth hidir for shame !
 See how my sone / for your gilt & blame, 229 see my Son bleed-
 Hangith heer al bybled vp on the crois ! ing on the Cross !
 Bymeneth him in herte & cheere & vois ! 231
 [34]
 His bloody stremes, see now & beholde ! 232 [leaf 7, back]
 If yee to him han any affeccioun,
 Now for his wo / your hertes oghen colde.
 Shewith your loue and your dileccioun ; Show your love !
 For your gilt makith he correccioun 236
 And amendes / right by his owne deeth :
 þat yee nat reewe on him, myn herte it sleeth. 238
 [35]
 A modir þat so soone / hir cote taar 239
 Or rente / sy men neuere noon or this,

For chyld / which þat shee of hir body baar,
 To yeue her tete! as my chyld, þat heere is,
 His cote hath torn / for your gilt, nat for his, 243
 And hath his blood despent in greet foyoun;
 And al it was for your Redempcioun. 245

For your redemption,
 He shed His
 blood.

¶ Cest tout.

Ceste Compleynte paramont feut translatee au
 commandement de ma dame de Hereford,
 que dieu pardoynt!

[II.]

Ceste feust faicte au temps que le Roy
 Henri le VI, (que Dieu pardoint!)
 feust a Hampton sur son primer
 passage vers Harflete.

(In 5-measure eights, *abab, cdcd.*)

[1]

[sign. a 7, leaf 1]

THe laddre of heuene / I meene charitee,
 Comandith vs / if our brothir be falle
 In to errour / to haue of him pitee,
 And seeke weyes, in our wittes alle, 4
 How we may him ageyn to vertu calle;
 And in gretter errour ne knowe I noon
 Than thow, þat dronke haast¹ heresies galle,
 And art fro Crystes feith twynned & goon. 8

Oldcastle! thou
 hast left Christ's
 faith!

[2]

Allas! þat thow þat were a manly knyght,
 And shoon ful cleer in famous worthynesse,
 Standynge in the fauour of euery wight,
 Haast lost the style of cristenly prowesse 12

¹ The *aa* in 'haast,' l. 7, and 'aart, paart,' l. 150, 152, occurs elsewhere. The Latin side-notes, below, are in the MS.

Among alle hem / þat stande in the cleernesse
Of good byleeue / & no man with thee holdith,
Sauf cursid caitifs, heires of dirknesse :
For verray routhe of thee / myn herte coldith. 16

No one holds with
thee, but cursed
caitifs!

[3]

Thow haast maad a fair permutacion
Fro Crystes lore to feendly doctryne;
From honour & fro dominacion
Vn-to reproof and mescheuous v[e]nyne; 20
Fro cristen folk / to hethenly couyne;
Fro seuretee vn-to vnsikirnesse;
Fro ioie and ese / vn-to wo & pyne,
Fro light of trouthe / vn-to dirke falsnesse. 24

Thou hast left the
light of Truth for
darkness!

[4]

O Oldcastel / alas / what eilid thee
To slippe in to the snare of heresie?
Thurgh which / thou foo arte to the Trinitee,
And to the blissid virgyne Marie,
And to the Innumerable holy compaignie
Of heuene / and to al holy chirche. alas!
To longe haast thou bathid in þat folie!
Ryse vp / & pource thee of thy trespass! 28

[sign. a 7, leaf 1,
back]

Thou art God's
foe!

[5]

Seynt Austyn seith / 'whiles a man abydith
In heresie or scisme / and list nat flee
Ther fro / his soule / fro God he diuidith,
And may nat saued been in no degree.
For what man holdith nat the vnitee
Of holy Chirche / neithir his baptee me,
Ne his almesse / how large þat it be,
To helthe him profyte / ne god qweeme.' 32

Purge thee of thy
trespass!

[MS.]

Augustinus de
fide, ad Petrum:
'Firmissime tene,
& nullatenus
dubites, quemlibet
hereticum &c. qui
ecclesie catholice
non tenet vnita-
tem, neque bap-
tismus / neque ele-
mosina quantum-
cumque copiosa /
neque mors pro
Christi nomine
suscepta, proficere
poterit ad
salutem.'

[6]

And yit more-ouer he seith thus also,
'Thogh þat an heretyk, for Crystes name
Shede his blood / & his lyf for Cryst forgo,
Shall nat him saue' / alas, the harm & shame! 44

Oldcastle! obey
the Church!

May nat thy smert thy sturdy herte attame!

Obeie / obeie / in the name of Jhesu!

Thou art of merit & of honour lame;

Conquere hem two / & thee arme in vertu!

48

[7]

[sign. a 8, leaf 2]

[MS.]

De Theodosij
Illustris Impera-
toris obedienciall
humillitate / re-
spice in historia
tripartita, Hero-
ix, ubi narrat,
'Cum apud Theo-
doricum Cuius-
dam,' &c.

If thyn hy herte, bolnyng in errour,

To holy chirche can nat buxum be!

Beholde Theodosius Emperour,

Hew humble & buxum vn-to god was he!

52

No reward tooke he of his dignitee,

But, as a lamb, to holy chirche obeide:

In the scripture / may men rede & se

How meekly of the Bisshop, grace he praide.

56

[8]

Thoffense which þat he ageyn god wroghte,

Was nat so greet as thyn / by many fold;

And yit ful heuy he was, & it forthoghte,

Obeyyng as þat holy chirche hath wold.

60

Thou hast sold
thy soul to the
Devil.

Thow þat thy soule / to the feend haast sold,

Bye it agayn thurgh thyn obedience!

Thyn heresie is al to hoor and old;

Correcte thee at Crystes reuerence!

64

[9]

And for thy soules helthe / do eeke so!

Quench thy
pride!

Thy pryde qwenche, & thy presumpcioun!

Wher thou hast been to Crystes feith a fo,

Repent!

Plante in thyn herte a deep contricioun,

68

And hennes forth be Crystes Champioun!

The welle of mercy renneth al in brede;

Drynke ther-of / syn ther is swich foyssoun,

Thyn hertes botel / ther-of fille, I rede.

72

[10]

[sign. a 8, or leaf
2, back]

Thow haast offendid god wondirly sore;

And natheles / if thou the wilt amende,

[¹ MS. m.]

Thogh thy gilt wer' a *thousand*¹ tymes more,

Ask God mercy!

Axe him mercy / & he wole it thee sende.

76

Thow art vnwys / thogh thow thee wys pretende,
And so been alle of thyn opinioun.
To god & holy chirche thow thee bende !
Caste out thy venym thurgh confessioun !

Bend thee to Holy Church !

80

[11]

Thow seist 'confessioun auriculeer
Ther needith noon' / but it is the contrarie ;
Thow lookist mis / thy sighte is nothyng cleer !
Holy writ ther-in is thyn Aduersarie,
And Clerkes alle fro thy conceit varie,
bat Crystes partie holden & maynteene.
Leue þat conceit / lest þat thow mis-carie !
Waar of the sword of god / for it is keene.

Thou objectest to Confession.

[MS.]
84 *Scriptum est /*
'Ostendite vos
sacerdotibus.'

Leave that conceit !

88

[12]

Heere, in this lyf / vn-to god mercy crie,
And with the ax or hamer of penance
Smyte on the stoon / slee thyn obstinacie !
Hane of thy synnes heuy remembrance !
Rowne in the preestes ere / & the greuance
Of thy soule / meekly to him confesse ;
And in the wal of heuene / is no doutance,
Thow shalt a quike stoon be / for thy goodnesse.

[MS.]
Augustinus de visitatione infirmorum dicit. 'In muro Ciuitatis superne apponendus es lapis vivus, in cuius edificio non audiat securis aut malleus. hic perferendus est strepitus / hic addendus est lapidi malleus / hic conterendum est totum lapidis superuacuum / strepitus peccatorum tuorum recordatio super quibus perstrepat in aure sacerdotis humillima tua confessio, &c.'

92

96

[13]

*O Oldcastel / how hath the feend thee blent !
Where is thy knyghtly herte / art thow his thral ?
Thow errest foule eeke in the sacrament
Of the Auter / but how in special
For to declare it needith nat at al ;
It knowen is in many a Region.
Now syn the feend hath youen the a fal /
Qwyte him / let see / ryse vp & slynge him doun !

100
[* sign. B 1, or leaf 8]

Rise up, and sling the Devil doun !

[14]

Ryse vp, a manly knyght, out of the slow
Of heresie / o lurker / as a wrecche
Wher' as thow erred haast / correcte it now !
By humblesse / thow mayst to mercy strecche.

Rise out of the slough of Heresy !

108

Get absolution
from Holy
Church!

To holy chirche go / & ther' fecche
The holsum oyle of absolucion.
If thow of soules hurt ne shame recche,
Thow leesist heuene / and al knyghtly renown. 112

[15]

Thou refusest to
obey Prelates.

Par cas / thow to thy self shame it arettist,
Vn-to Prelatz of holy chirche obeie :
If it so be / thy conceit thow mis settist.
What man aright can / in his herte weye 116
The trouthe of that! To Ihesu Cryst, I seye,
Principally / is þat obedience.
God hath ordeyned preestes to purveye
Salue of penance / for mannes offense. 120

[16]

[sign. b. 1; lf. 8,
back]

Confess and
repent of thy
errors!

Vnto seint Petir and his successours,
And so foorth down / god hath his power lent
Go to the Preest / correcte thyn errours,
With herte contryt vn-to god y-bent! 124
Despute no more of the sacrament!
As holy chirche biddith, folwe it!
And hennes forward / as by myn assent,
Presume nat so mochil of thy wit! 128

[17]

If a Priest is
vicious,

follow him not,
but obey his
teaching.

I putte cas, a prelat or a preest
Him viciously gouerne in his lyuynge /
Thow oghtist reewe on it / whan thow it seest,
And folwe him nat / but aftir his techynge 132
Thow oghtest do / & for thyn obeyynge
Thow shalt be sauf / & if he teche amis,
Toforn god shal he yeue a rekenynge,
And þat a streit / the greet peril is his. 136

[18]

Stir no arguments
about our Faith!

Lete holy chirche medle of the doctryne
Of Crystes lawes / & of his byleeue,
And lete alle othir folke / ther-to enclyne,
And of our feith noon argumentes meewe. 140

For if we mighte our feith by reson preeue,
 We sholde no meryt of our feith haue.
 But now a dayes / a Baillif or Reeue
 Or man of craft / wole in it dote or raue. 144

[19]

Some wommen eeke, thogh hir wit be thynne,
 Wele argumentes make in holy writ !
 Lewde calates ! sittith down and spyne,
 And kakele of sumwhat elles, for your wit 148
 Is al to feeble to despute of it !
 To Clerkes grete / apparteneth þat aart
 The knowleche of þat, god hath fro yow shit ;
 Stynte and leue of / for right sclendre is your paart. 152

[20]

Oure fadres olde & modres lyued wel,
 And taghte hir children / as hem self taght were
 Of holy chirche / & axid nat a del
 'Why stant this word heere?' / and 'why this word
 there?' 156

'Why spake god thus / and seith thus elles where?'
 'Why dide he this wyse / and mighte han do thus?'
 Our fadres medled no thyng of swich gere :
 þat oghte been a good mirour to vs. 160

[21]

If land to thee be falle of heritage,
 Which þat thy fadir heeld in reste & pees,
 With title iust & trewe in al his age,
 And his fadir before him brygelees, 164
 And his and his / & so foorth / doutelees
 I am ful seur / who so wolde it thee reue,
 Thow woldest thee deffende & putte in prees ;
 Thy right thow woldest nat, thy thanks, leue. 168

[22]

Right so / where as our goode fadres olde
 Possessid were, & hadden the seisyne
 Peisible / of Crystes feith, & no man wolde

[MS.]
 Fides non habet
 meritum, &c.

[sign. b 2, lf. 9]

Women even
 argue now about
 Holy Writ! Let
 em cackle of
 something else!

Our forefathers

never askt ques-
 tions.

No more ought
 we.

If you inherited
 land

you'd defend it
 against robbers.

[sign. b 2, lf. 9,
 back]
 So our fathers
 held Christ's
 faith.

Impugne hir right! it sit vs to enclyne 172
 Ther-to / let us no fertheres ymagyne
 But as þat they dide! occupie our right;
 And in ours hertes fully determyne
 Our title good / & keepe it with our might. 176

[23]

He who'll not
 defend his rights
 is a coward!

Who so hath right / and nat wole it deffende;
 It is no manhode / it is cowardyse:
 And as in this cas / he shal god offende
 So greuously / þat he shal nat souffyse, 180
 The maugree, for to bere in no wyse
 Fro Cryst þat right first greew / & if þat we
 Nat shuln susteene it / we been ful vnwyse:
 Him self is feith / right / trouthe, & al bontee. 184

[24]

[MS.]
 Lege Nemo.
 'Nemo Clericus
 vel militaris, vel
 cuiuslibet alterius
 condicionis de fide
 christiana publice
 turbis conuatis
 & audientibus
 tractare conetur
 in posterum ex
 hoc tumultus &
 periculi occasi-
 onem requirens
 &c. & ibi expres-
 sate pena in
 huiusmodi causis
 exequenda.'

The Cristen Emperour Justinian,
 As it is witen / who so list it see,
 Made a lawe deffending' euery man,
 Of what condicion or what degree 188
 þat he were of / nat sholde hardy be
 For to desputes of the feith openly;
 And there vp on / sundry peynes sette he,
 þat peril sholde eschued be therby. 192

[25]

[leaf 10]
 Oldcastle, don't
 read Holy Writ!
 Read Lancelot, or

Bewar Oldcastel / & for Crystes sake
 Clymbe no more / in holy writ so hie!
 Rede the storie of Lancelot de lake,
 Or Vegece of the aart of Chiualrie, 196

the Siege of Troy;

The seege of Troie / or Thebes / thee applie
 To thyngs þat may to thordre of knyght longe!
 To thy correccioun / now haaste and hie,
 For thow haast been out of ioynt al to longe. 200

[26]

or Iuripes and
 Joshua:

If thee list thyng rede of auctoritee,
 To thise stories sit it thee to goon:
 To Iudicum / Regum, and Iosue,

To Iudith / & to Paralipomenon, 204
 And Machabe / & as siker as stoon,
 If þat thee list in hem bayte thyn ye,
 More autentike thing / shalt thou fynde noon,
 Ne more pertinent to Chivalrie. 208

these pertain to
Chivalry.

[27]

Knyghtes so dide in tymes þat be past, Knights of old
 Whan they had tendrenesse of hir' office ;
 In Crystes feith they stooden stidefast ;
 And as þat the preest, hir soules Norice, 212
 Hem goostly fedde / & yaf hem the notice
 Of Crystes lore : with obedience
 They tooke it / but now regneth swich malice, obeyd the Priest.
 That buxumnesse is put in abstinence. 216 Now, obedience is
 set aside.

[28]

O Constantyn, thou Prince of hy nobleye / [If 10 be.]
 O cristen Emperour / whos worthynesse
 Desdeyned nat to holy chirche obeye,
 But didest al thy payne & bisynesse, 220
 With wel disposid spirit of meeknesse,
 The Ministres of god for to honure ;
 How thou wroghtist / hast ~~thou~~ so strong witnessse,
 That lyue it shal / whil ~~the~~ world wole endure ! 224

The Emperour
Constantine obeyd
Holy Church.

[29]

Thou took nat on thee hir correctioun,
 Ne vp on hem / thou yaf no iugement !
 Swich was to god thy good affeccoun,
 Thou seidest / 'they been goddes to vs sent ! 228
 And þat it is nothyng conuenient,
 That a man sholde goddes iuge and deeme.'
 Thou were a noble & a worthy Regent !
 Wel was byset on thee / thy diadeeme ! 232

[MS.]
De admirabili
honore quem
Constantinus Im-
perator exhibuit
ecclesie Ministris
ita scribitur /
'Deus vos consti-
tuit sacerdotes, &
potestatem dedit
vobis iudicandi, &
ideo nos a vobis
iudicamus; vos
autem non potestis
ab hominibus
iudicari,' &c.

[30]

Blessid be god / fro whom deryued is
 Al grace / our lige lord / which þat is now
 Our feithful cristen Prince and King / in this
 Our Henry V
 follows his steps.

Oldcastle! Follow these Princes! Folwith thy steppes / o' for shame thow 236
 Oldcastel / thow haast longe tyme ynow
 [1 odd, this! If he 'does it no longer,' why should he be scolded? Read 'that' for 'though' in 238.] Folwed the feend / thogh thow no lenger do,¹
 Do by my reed / it shal be for thy prow :
 Flee fro the Feend / folwe tho Princes two! 240

[31]

[leaf 11] Reward had, & consideracioun,
 Vn-to the dignitees of tho persones,
 Thow art of a scars reputacioun!
 A froward herte / haast thow for the nones! 244
 Bow and correct thyself! Bowe & correcte thee / come of at ones!
 Foule haast thow lost thy tyme many a day!
 For thyn vnfeith / men maken many mones;
 Return to God! To god retourne / & with his feith dwelle ay! 248

[32]

Thogh god the haue souffrid regne a whyle,
 Be nat to bold / be war of his vengeance!
 He tarieth for thow sholdist reconsyle
 Leave thy mis-belief! Thee to him / & leue thy mescreaunce. 252
 Holsum to thee / now were a variaunce
 Fro the feend to our lord god / & fro vice
 Vn-to vertu, þat were his hy plesaunce,
 And his modres, man-kyndes mediatrice. 256

[33]

Some of thy fetheres weren plukkid late,
 And mo shuln be / thow shalt it nat asterte;
 Debate not against God! Thow art nat wys / ageyne god to debate!
 The flood of pryde / caste out of thyn herte! 260
 Grace is a-lyue / to god thee conuerte!
 Thow maist been his / if thee list him obeie;
 If thow nat wilt so / sorrer shalt thow smerte,
 Than herte of man may thynke, or tonge seye! 264

[34]

[leaf 11, back] Almighty god / thow lord of al, and Syre,
 O Lord of all! Withouten whom is no goodnesse wroght,
 Inspire Oldcastle with Thy grace! This knyght, of thyn habundant grace enspyre!

Remembre how deere / þat thow haast him boght ! 268

He is thyn handwerke / lord ! refuse him noght,

He is thy handi-
work.

Thogh he thee haue agilt outrageously /

Thow þat for mercy deidest, change his thoght !

Benigne lord, enable him to mercy !

272 Fit him for
mercy !

[35]

Yee þat peruerted him / yee folke dampnable !

Yee heretikes þat han him betrayed,

Ye Heretikes that
mised this
Knight,

That manly was / worthy & honorable,

Or þat he hadde of your venym assayed,

276

I doute it nat / your wages shal be payed

Sharply / but yee correcte your trespas,

In your fals error / shul yee been outrayed,

And been enhabited with Sathanas.

280 ye shall go to
Hell !

[36]

Yee, with your sly coloured argumentes

Which þat contenen nothyng but falshode,

Han, in this Knyght, put so feendly ententes,

Ye have quencht

þat he is ouercharged with the lode

284

Which yee han leid on his good old knyghthode,

That now 'a wrecchid knyght' men calle may.

The lak' of feith / hath qwenchid his manhode ;

his manhood.

His force ageyn god / naght is at assay.

288

[37]

' Prynce of preestes' / our lige lord yee calle

In scorn / but it is a style of honour :

Auctoritee of Prest excedith alle

Eerthely powers / thogh it seeme sour

292

To the taast of your detestable error.

They þat in the feith been constaunt & sad,

In seint Petres wordes han good fauour,

And fayn been to fullfille þat he bad.

296

[38]

Alle eerthely Princes and othir men,

Bysshops to obeie / commandid he.

Yee han no ground to holde ther ayen :

Earthly Princes
must obey
Bishops.

Spiritual thynges / passe in dignitee
 ar abuv temporel. Alle the thynges temporel þat be,
 As moche as dooth the soule the body.
 In the scriptures, serche / & yee shul see
 þat it no lees at al is hardily. 300
 304

[39]

The Sun and Moon Two lightes, god made in the firmament
 Of heuene / a more made he, & a lesse ;
 The gretter light, to the day hath he lent,
 It for to serue in his cleer brightnesse ; 308
 The smaller, to the nyght in soothfastnesse
 He lente also / to helpe it with his light.
 betoken Papal authority, and Kingly. Two dignitees they tokenen in liknesse ;
 Auctoritee papal, and kynges might. 312

[40]

[leaf 12, back] Looke, how moche & how greet dyuersitee
 As Sun to Moon, so is Pope to King. Betwixt the sonne ther is, & the moone !
 So moche is a popes auctoritee
 Aboue a kynges might / good is to doone 316
 þat yee aryse out of your errour soone,
 þat there-in walwid han / goon is ful yore.
 If ye'll not be- And but yee do / god, I byseeche a boone,
 lieve it, I hope ye may be barst ! þat in the fyr yee feele may the sore ! 320

[41]

Yee þat nat sette by preestes power,
 'Crystes Rebels, & foos' men may you calle.
 Yee waden in presumpcioun to fer !
 Your soules to the feend, yee foule thralle ! 324
 Yee seyn, 'a preest in deedly synne falle,
 If he so go to messe / he may nat make
 Crystes body' / falsly yee erren alle,
 þat holden so / to deepe yee ransake ! 328

[42]

As wel may a preest þat is vicious,
 He can. þat precious body make, day by day,
 As may a preest / þat is ful vertuous ;

But waar the preest / his soule it hurte may, 332
 And shal, but he be cleene : it is no nay.
 Be what he be / the preest is instrument
 Of god / thurgh whos wordes / trustith this ay,
 The preest makith the blessid sacrament. 336

The Priest is only
 an instrument to
 make the Body.

[43]

Yee medle of al thyng / yee moot shoo the goos :
 How knowen yee what lyf a man is ynne?
 Your fals conceites renne aboute loos!
 If a preest synful be, & fro god twynne, 340
 Thurgh penitence he may ageyn god wyne.
 No wight may cleerly knowen it or gesse,
 þat any preest, beynge in deedly synne,
 For awe of god, dar to the messe him dresse. 344

[leaf 12]

Besides, no one
 can know that
 a Priest in sin
 dare perform
 Mass.

[44]

Yee seyn also 'ther sholde be no pope,
 But he the beste preest were vp-on lyue.'
 O! wher-to graspen yee so fer, and grope
 Aftir swich thyng / yee mowe it neuere dryue 348
 To the knowleche / nothyng there-of stryue!
 Medle nat ther with / let al swich thyng passe!
 For if þat yee do / shul yee neuere thryue;
 Yee been ther-in as lewde as is an asse! 352

Ye say that 'only
 the best Priest
 should be Pope.'

Ye are asses!

[45]

Many man outward / seemeth wondir good,
 And inward is he wondir fer ther-fro :
 No man be Iuge of þat / but he be wood :
 To god longith þat knowleche, & no mo. 356
 Thogh he be right synful / sooth is also,
 The hy power þat is to him committid,
 As large as petres is / it is right so :
 Amonges feithful folk' / this is admittid. 360

God alone can
 judge what a man
 is.

The Pope's power
 is as great as
 Peter's.

[46]

What is the lawe the werse of nature,
 If þat a Iuge vse it nat aright?
 No thyng / god wot / auyse him þat the cure

[M. 12, bk]

Ther-of hath take / looke he do but right ; 364
 Waar / þat he nat stonde in his owne light !
 Good is, þat he his soule keepe & saue.
 Your fals conceites, puttith to the flight,
 Put your false opinions to flight !
 I rede / and Crystes mercy, axe & haue ! 368

[47]

Yee þat pretenden folwers for to be
 Of Crystes disciples / nat lyue sholde
 Aftir the fleschly lustes / as doon yee
 Ye live in lust, and care not whose wife ye take.
 þat rekken nat / whos wyf yee take & holde : 372
 Swich lyf / the disciples nat lyue wolde,
 For cursid is the synne of aduoutrie ;
 But yee ther-in, so hardy been & holde,
 þat yee no synne it holden, ne folie. 376

[48]

If yee so holy been as yee witnesse
 Of your self ! thanne in Crystes feith abyde !
 Christ's disciples faced death boldly.
 The disciples of Cryst had hardynesse
 For to appeere / they nat wolde hem hyde 380
 For fere of deeth / but in his cause dyde.
 They fledden nat to halkes ne to hernes,
 Ye hide in corners.
 As yee doon / þat holden the feendes syde,
 Whiche arm of dirknesse the lanternes. 384

[49]

Ne neuere they in forcible maneere
 [leaf 14]
 They never rioted as ye did of late.
 With wepnes roos / to slee folk, & assaille,
 (at the Rising in St. Giles's Fields, in Jan. 1614.)
 As yee diden late in this contree heere,
 Ageyn the King, stryf to rere, & batailla. 388
 Blessid be god / of your purpos yee faille,
 And faille shuln / yee shuln nat foorth ther with !
 Yee broken meynnee / yee wrecchid rascaille
 Been al to weyke / yee han ther-to no pith ! 392

[50]

Also yee holden ageyn pilgrimages,
 You object to Pilgrimages and images.
 Whiche arm ful goode / if þat folk wel hem vse ;
 And eekes ageyns the makyng of ymages.

What / al is nat worth þat yee clappe & muse. 396

How can yee, by reson, your self excuse

þat yee nat erren / whan yee folk' excite

Ye excite folk to
vice.

To vice / and stire hem, vertu to refuse ?

Waar goddes strook' / it peisith nat a lyte. 400

[51]

For to visite seintes / is vertu,

Visiting Shrines
is meritorious,

If þat it doon be for deuocioun ;

And elles / good is, be ther-of eschu.

Meede wirkith in good entencioun. 404

Be cleene of lyf / & be in orisoun !

Of synne, talke nat in thy viage !

If ye behave well.

Let vertu gyde thee / fro toun to toun !

And so to man / profitith pilgrimage. 408

[52]

And to holde ageyn ymages makynge,

[If. 14, bk.]

(Be they maad in entaille or in peynture,)

Images stir up
good thoughts,
and make men
honour Saints,
not worship them.

Is greet errour / for they yeuen stiringe

Of thoghtes goode / and causen men honure 412

The seint / after whom / maad is that figure,

And nat worshippe it / how gay it be wroght.

For this knowith wel euery creature

þat reson hath / þat a seint is it noght. 416

[53]

Right as a spectacle helpith feeble sighte,

Images help us to
pray, as Spectacles
help us to read.

Whan a man on the book' redith or writ,

And causith him to see bet than he mighte,

In which spectacle / his sighte nat abit, 420

But gooth thurgh / & on the book restith it :

The same may men of ymages seye,

Thogh the ymage nat the seint be / yit

The sighte vs myngith to the seint to preye. 424

[54]

Ageyn possessions / yee holden eeke,

Ye object to the
Church holding
property.

Of holy chirche / & that is eeke errour :

Your inward ye / is ful of smoke & reeke !

But Christ, while
on earth, had
Purses.

While heere on eerthe / was our Sauueour, 428
Whom Angels diden seruice & honour,
Purses had he / why? for his chirche sholde
So haue eek' aftir / as seith mine Auctour :
Yee goon al mis / al is wrong / þat yee holde ! 432
[55]

[leaf 15]

Iustinian Emperour had swich cheertee
To holy chirche / as þat seith the scripture,
þat of goodes how large or greet plantee
It hadde of yifte of any creature : 436
Him thoghte it youe in the best mesure
þat mighte been / his herte it loued so.
Yee neuere yaf hem good, per auenture :
What title han yee / aght for to take hem fro ? 440
[56]

What right have
ye to take from
the Church what
ye never gave ?

Why should the
Church be spoli'd ?

And if yee had aght youe hem or this tyme,
Standynge in the feith / as yee oghthen stonde,
Sholden they now / for your change & your cryme,
Despoillid been of þat they haue in honde : 444
Nay / þat no skile is / yee shul vndirstonde,
They nyght and day labouren in prayeere
For hem that so yaf / styntith, and not fonde
To do so : for first boght wole it be deere. 448
[57]

Ye say ' Property
ought to be com-
mon.'

But it oughtn't to
be made so by
violence.

Presumpcion of wit, and ydilnesse,
And couetyse of good / tho vices thre
Been cause of al your ydil bysynesse.
¶ Yee seyn eek : ' goodes, commune oghthen be : ' 452
þat ment is, in tyme of necessitee,
But nat by violence or by maistrie,
My good to take of me / or I of thee,
For þat is verray wrong & robberie. 456
[58]

[ff. 15, bk.]

Ye only want to
plunder.

If þat a man the soothe telle shal,
How þat your hertes in this cas been set,
For to ryfle, is your entente final ;

Yee han be biay longe / aboute a net, 460

And fayn wolde han it in the watir wet,

The fissh to take / which yee han purposid.

But god and our lord lige hath yow let !

It nis, ne shal been / as yee han supposid.

But God and the
King hav stoppt
you.

464

[59]

Men seyn 'yee purpose hastily appeere,

The worm for to sleen in the pesecod :

Come on / whan yow list / yee shul reewe it deere !

The feend is your cheef / & our heed is god !

Thogh we had in oure handes / but a clod

Of eerthe / at your heedes to slynge or caste,

Were wepne ynow / or a smal twig or rod ;

The feith of Cryst / stikith in vs so faste !

Fight when you
will, we shall be.
you.

468

472

[60]

We dreden nat / we han greet auantage,

Whethir we lyue / or elles slayn be we,

In Crystes feith / for vp to heuenes stage,

If we so die / our soules lift shul be ;

And on þat othir part / yee feendes / yee

In the dirke halke of Helle shul descende !

And yit with vs abit this charitee,

Our desir is / þat yee yow wolde amende.

We shall go to
Heaven.
Ye to Hell !

476

480

[61]

Yee holden many an othir errour mo

Then may be writen in a litil space,

But lak' of leisir me commandith ho.

Almighty god / byseeche I of his grace

Enable yow to seen his blessid face,

Which þat is o god / & persones three.

Remembre yow / heuene is a miry place,

And helle is ful of sharp aduersitee.

[leaf 16]

Yet, I pray God to
save you.

484

488

[62]

Yit, Oldcastel / for him þat his blood shadde

Vp on the crois / to his feith torne agayn !

Forget nat the loue / he to vs hadde,

Oldcastle !
Turn again to
Christ's faith !

	þat blisful lord / þat for alle vs / was slayn !	492
Turn not thy brain against the Faith !	From hennes forward / trouble nat thy brayn As thou hast doon, ageyn the feith ful sore ! Cryst, of thy soule / glad be wolde, & fayn : Retourne knyghtly now vn-to his lore !	496
	[63]	
Repent !	Repente thee / and with him make accord ! Conquere meryt and honour / let see, Looke how our cristen Prince, our lige lord,	
Why art thou not fighting in France by King Henry's side ? Shame on thee !	With many a lord & knyght beyond the See, Laboure in armes / & thou hydest thee ! And darst nat come / & shewe thy visage ! O, fy ! for shame / how can a knyght be Out of thonur of this rial viage ?	500 504
	[64]	
[leaf 16, bk.] Once, Oldcastle was in every fray.	Sum tyme was no knyghtly turn no where, Ne no manhode shewid in no wyse, But Oldcastel wolde, his thankes, be there.	
How has the Devil changed thee !	How hath the cursid fiend changid thy gyse ! Flee from him ! and alle his wirkes despyse ! And þat y-doon, vn-to our cristen kyng	508
Humble thee to our King !	Thee hie as faste / as þat thou canst dyuyse, And humble eke thee to him / for any thyng !	512
	Cest tout.	

[III.]

Cy ensuyt la male regle de T. Hoccleur.

[Against his ill-regulated life: eating and drinking to excess for 20 years (l. 109—112); treating and kissing girls, l. 145—160; (He confesses his cowardice in l. 169—176;) drinking in Taverns at Westminster, l. 179; (tho' still young—say 35—l. 209) going on the river, l. 190—208, and this mainly with borrowd money, l. 369—371.

Final *ē* kept up. Double vowel for tone, 'haast, aart, paart,' &c., and to give the liquid *u*, treewe; *ou* used for other *u*, souffyse, &c., souffre; *nat* for not, as always.]

[In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc*. Printed by G. Mason.]

[1]

O precious tresor incomparable!

[leaf 16, back]

O ground & roote of prosperitee!

O Health,

O excellent richesse commendable

Abouen alle / pat in eerthe be!

4

Who may susteene thyn aduersitee?

What wight may him avante of worldly welthe,

who can have
wealth without
thee?

But if he fully stande in grace of thee,

Erthely god / piler of lyf / thow helthe!

8

[2]

Whil thy power / and excellent vigour

9

[leaf 17]

(As was plesant vn-to thy worthynesse)

When I had thee,

Regned in me / & was my gouernour,

Than was I wel / tho felte I no duresse,

12

Tho farsid was I with hertes gladnesse;

I was glad.

And now my body empty is, & bare

Now am I joyless.

Of ioie / and ful of seekly heuynesse,

Al poore of ese / & ryche of euel fare!

16

[3]

If pat thy fauour twynne from a wight!

17

Smal is his ese / & greet is his greuance!

Thy loue / is lyf / thyn hate sleeth down right!

- I have lost Health, Who may compleyne thy disseuerance 20
 Bettre than I, þat, of myn ignorance,
 Vn-to seeknesse am knyht / thy mortel fo.
- and I know what penance is. Now can I knowe feeste fro penaunce ;
 And whil I was with thee / kowde I nat so. 24
- [4]
- I suffer daily My grief and biay smert cotidian 25
 So me labouren & tormenten sore,
 þat what thow art now / wel remembre I can,
 And what fruyt is in keepynge of thy lore. 28
 Had I thy power knowen or this yore,
 As now thy fo conpellith me to knowe,
 Nat sholde his lym han cleued to my gore,
 For al his aart / ne han me broght thus lowe. 32
- [5]
- [leaf 17, back] But I haue herd men seye longe ago, 33
 'Prosperitee is blynd / & see ne may':
 And verifie I can wel / it is so ;
 For I my self put haue it in assay. 36
 Whan I was weel / kowde I considere it? nay!
 But what / me longed aftir nouelrie,
 As yeeres yonge yernen day by day ;
 for my past folly. And now my smert accusith my folie. 40
- [6]
- In youth I knew not what it was to lose Health. Myn vnwar yowthe kneew nat what it wroghte, 41
 This woot I wel / whan fro thee twynned shee ;
 But of hir ignorance hir self shee soghte,
 And kneew nat þat shee dwellyng was with thee ; 44
 For to a wight were it greet nycetee
 His lord or freend wityngly for toffende,
 Lest þat the weighte of his aduersitee
 The fool oppresse / & make of him an ende. 48
- [7]
- From hennes fourth wole I do reuerence 49
 Vn-to thy name / & holde of thee in cheef,
 And werre make, & sharp resistance

- Ageyn thy fo & myn, þat cruel theef, 52
 þat vndir foote / me halt in mescheef,
 So thow me to thy grace reconcyle.
 O now thyn help / thy socour and releef !
 And I for ay / mis reule wole exyle. 56
- Help me, O
Health ; and I'll
give up miarule.
- [8]
- But thy mercy excede myn offense / 57
 The keene assautes of thyn aduersarie
 Me wole oppresse with hir violence.
 No wondir / thogh thow be to me contrarie ; 60
 My lustes blynde han causid thee to varie
 Fro me / thurgh my folie & inpudence ;
 Wherfore / I, wrecche / curse may & warie
 The seed and fruyt of chyldly sapience. 64
- [9]
- As for the more paart / youthe is rebel 65
 Vn-to reson / & hatith her doctryne,
 Regnynge which / it may nat stande wel
 With yowthe / as fer as wit can ymagyne. 68
 O / yowthe / alas / why wilt thow nat enclyne,
 And vn-to reuled reform bowe thee ?
 Syn resoun is the verray streight lyne
 þat ledith folk / vn-to felicitee. 72
- [10]
- Ful seelde is seen / þat yowthe takith heede 73
 Of perils þat been likly for to faH ;
 For, haue he take a purpos / þat moot nede
 Been execut / no conseil wole he caH ; 76
 His owne wit, he demeth best of aH ;
 And fourth ther-with / he renneth brydillees,
 As he þat nat betwixt hony and gaH
 Can iuge / ne the werre fro the pees. 80
- [11]
- AH othir mennes wittes he despisith ; 81
 They answeren no thyng to his entente ;
 His rakil wit only to him souffysith ;
- [leaf 18]
- My blind luste hav
driven thee away.
- Why will not
Youth bow to
Rule ?
- Youth will hav its
own way.

His hy presumpcioun nat list consente 84
 To doon as þat Salomon wroot & mente,
 þat redde men by conseil for to werke :
 Now, youthe, now / thou sore shalt repente
 Thy lightlees wittes duh, of reson derke ! 88

[12]

My friends warnd
 me against my
 misrule.

My freendes seiden vn-to me ful ofte, 89
 My mis roule me cause wolde a fit ;
 And redden me, in esy wyse & softe,
 A lyte and lyte to withdrawen it ; 93
 But þat nat mighte synke in-to my wit,
 So was the lust y-rootid in myn herte.

And now I'm ripe
 for the grave.

And now I am so rype vn-to my pit,
 þat scarsely I may it nat asterte. 96

[13]

Who-so cleer yen hath, & can nat see, 97
 Ful smal, of ye, auaillith the office /
 ¶ Right so / syn reson youen is to me
 For to discerne a vertu from a vice, 100
 If I nat can with resoun me cheuice,
 But wilfully fro reson me withdrawe,
 Thogh I of hir' haue no benefice,
 No wondir / ne no fauour in hir lawe. 104

[14]

[leaf 19]
 Reason bade me
 eat and drink
 moderately.

Reson me bad / & redde as for the beste, 105
 To ete and drynke in tyme attemprely ;
 But wilful youthe nat obeie leste

Vn-to þat reed / ne sette nat ther-by. 108
 I take haue of hem bothe outrageously
 And out of tyme / nat two year or three,

But for 20 years
 I've livd in excess.

But .xx.ⁱⁱ wyntir past continually,
 Excesse at borde hath leyd his knyf with me. 112

[15]

The custume of my repleet abstinence, 113
 My greedy mowth, Receite of swich outrage,
 And hondes two / as woot my negligence,

- Thus han me gyded / & broght in *seruage* 116
 Of hire þat werreith euery age,
 Seeknesse, y meene, riotoures whippe,
 Habundantly þat paieth me my wage,
 So þat me neithir daunce list, ne skippe. 120
 [16]
- The outward signe of Bachus & his lure, 121
 þat at his dore hangith day by day /
 Excitith folk' / to taaste of his moisture
 So often / þat man can nat wel seyn nay. 124
 For me, I seye / I was enclyned ay
 With-uten daunger thidir for to hye me,
 But if swich charge / vp on my bake lay,
 That I moot it forbere / as for a tyme; 128
 [17]
- Or but I were nakidly bystad 129 (leaf 19, back)
 By force of the penylees maladie,
 For thanne in herte kowde I nat be glad,
 Ne lust had noon to Bachus hows to hie. 132
 Fy! Lak of coyn / departith conpaignie,
 And heuy purs, with herte liberal,
 Qwenchith the thirsty hete of hertes drie,
 Wher chynchy herte / hath ther-of but smal. 136
 [18]
- I dar nat telle / how þat the fresshe repair 137
 Of venus femel lusty children deere,
 þat so goodly / so shaply were, and feir,
 And so plesant of port & of maneere, 140
 And feede cowden al a world with cheere,
 And of atyr passyngly wel byseye,
 At Poules heed me maden ofte appeere,
 To talke of mirthe / & to disporte & pleye. 144
 [19]
- Ther was sweet wyn ynow thurgh-out the hous, 145
 And wafres thikke / for this conpaignie
 þat I spak of / been sumwhat likerous,

And now, Sicknesse
has hold of me.

I haunted Wine-
houses, and
drank,

(leaf 19, back)
saw when I was
peniless.

I went after pretty
girls

at the Paul's Head
Tavern,

and treated em to
wine and wafers.

- Where as they mowe a draght of wyn espie, 148
 Sweete / and in wirkyng hoot for the maistrie
 To warme a stomak' with / ther-of they dranka.
 Of course I paid for the girls. To suffre hem paie, had been no courtesie :
 That charge I took / to wynne loue & thanks. 152
 [20]
 Of lounes aart / yit touchid I no deel ; 153
 I cowde nat / & eek it was no neede :
 But I only kist em, and didn't do anything naughtier. Had I a kus / I was content ful weel,
 Better than I wolde han be with the deede : 156
 Ther-on can I but smal ; it is no dreede :
 Whan þat men speke of it in my presence,
 For shame I wexe as reed as is the gleede.
 Now wole I torne ageyn to my sentence. 160
 [21]
 Drinking wastes Of him þat hauntith tauerne of custume, 161
 At shorte wordes / the profyt is this :
 your money, and makes you talk scandal. In double wyse / his bagge it shal consume,
 And make his tonge speke of folk' amis ; 164
 For in the cuppe / seelden fownden is,
 þat any wight his neigheburgh commendith.
 Beholde & see / what auantage is his,
 þat god / his freend / & eek him self, offendith. 168
 [22]
 But oon auantage / in this cas I haue : 169
 I was so ferd / with any man to fighte,
 Cloos kepte I me / no man durste I deprauē
 But rownyngly / I spak no thyng on highte. 172
 And yit my wil was good / if þat I mighte,
 For lettyng of my manly cowardyse,
 þat ay of strookes impressid the wighte,
 So þat I durste medlen in no wyse. 176
 [23]
 Wher was a gretter maister eek' than y, 177
 Or bet aqweyntid at Westmynstre yate,
 Among the tauerneres namely,

And Cookes / whan I cam / eerly or late?
 I pynchid nat at hem in myn acate,
 But paied hem / as þat they axe wolde ;
 Wherefore I was the welcomere algate,
 And for 'a verray gentil man' y-holde.

[24]

And if it happid on the Someres day
 þat I thus at the tauerne hadde be,
 Whan I departe sholde / & go my way
 Hoom to the priuee seel / so wowed me
 Heete & vnlust and superfluities
 To walke vn-to the brigge / & take a boot /
 þat nat durste I contrarie hem all three,
 But dide as þat they stired me / god woot.

[25]

And in the wyntir / for the way was deep,
 Vn-to the brigge I dressid me also,
 And ther the bootmen took vp-on me keep,
 For they my riot kneewen fern ago :
 With hem was I I-tugged to and fro,
 So wel was him / þat I with wolde fare ;
 For riot paieth largely / eueremo ;
 He styntith neuere / til his purs be bare.

[26]

Othir than 'maistir' / callid was I neuere,
 Among this meynee, in myn audience.
 Me thoghite / I was y-maad a man for euere :
 So tikelid me þat nyce reuerence,
 þat it me made larger of despense
 Than þat I thocht han been / o flaterie !
 The guyse of thy traiterous diligence
 Is, folk to mescheef haasten / & to hie.

[27]

Al be it þat my yeeres be but yonge /
 Yit haue I seen in folk of hy degree,
 How þat the venym of faueles tonge

180 and Cookes at
 Westminster
 Gate?
 I paid freely, and
 was held 'A
 regular Gentle-
 man!'

184

185

And after drink-
 ing and feeding,
 instead of going
 to work at the
 Privy-Seal Office,

188

I'd take a boat.

192

193

In winter too, I'd
 have a boat,

196

and the Boatmen
 fought for me, as
 I paid well.

200

201

[leaf 21]
 These fellows
 always cald me
 "Master," and
 that tickled my
 vanity, and made
 me pay em
 largely.

204

208

209

Flattery's tongue
has ruined many
folk!

Hath mortified hir prosperitee, 212
And broght hem in so sharp aduersitee
þat it hir lyf hath also throwe a-doun.
And yit ther can no man in this contree
Vnnethe eschue this confusioun. 216

[28]

Servants flatter
and lie to their
lords.

Many a seruant / vn-to his lord seith, 217
'þat al the world spekith of him honour,'
Whan the contrarie of þat / is sooth in feith:
And lightly leened is this losengeour: 220
His hony wordes / wrappid in errour,
Blyndly conceyued been / the more harm is!
O! thow, fauele, of lesynges Auctour,
Causist al day / thy lord to fare amis! 224

[29]

[leaf 31, back]
Flatterers are
'Enchanters' or
Deceivers.

Tho combreworlides clept been 'échantours' 225
In bookes / as þat I haue, or this, red,
That is to seye, sotil deceyuours,
By whom the peple is mis gyed & led, 228
And with plesance so fustred and fed,
þat they forgete hem self, & can nat feele
The soothe of the condicion in hem brod,
No more / than hir wit were in hire heele. 232

[30]

Read in the Book
of the Nature of
Beests, how Mer-
maids entice and
devour Shipmen!

¶ Who-so þat list in 'the book' of nature 233
Of beestes' rede / ther-in he may see
(If he take heede vn-to the scripture,) 236
Where it spekith of meermaides in the See,
How þat so inly mirie syngith shee,
þat the shipman ther-with fallith a sleepe,
And by hir' aftir deuoured is he:
From al which song, is good, men hem to keepe. 240

[31]

Right so the feyned wordes of plesance 241
Annoyen aftir / thogh they plesse a tyme
To hem þat been vnwyse of gouernance,

Lordes ! beeth waar / Let nat fauel yow lyme ! 244 Don't let Flattery
 If þat yee been enuolupid in cryme,
 Yee may nat deeme / men speke of yow weel,
 Thogh fauel peynte hir tale in prose or ryme :
 Ful holsum is it / truste hir' nat a deel. 248

[32]

¶ Holcote seith vp-on the book' also 249 [leaf 22]
 Of sapience / as it can testifie,
 Whan þat Vlixes saillid to and fro
 By meermaides / this was his policie, 252
 Alle eres of men of his compaignie,
 With wex he stoppe leet / for þat they noght
 Hir song sholde heere / lest the armonye
 Hem mighte vn-to swich deedly sleep han broght, 256

[33]

And bond him self / vn-to the shippes mast : 257 and bound himself
 Lo ! thus hem alle, saued his prudence.
 The wys man is, of peril sore agast.
 O flaterie ! o lurkyng' pestilence ! 260
 If sum man dide his cure & diligence
 To stoppe his eres fro thy poesie,
 And nat wolde herkne a word of thy sentence,
 Vn-to his greef it were a remedie. 264

[34]

As nay / al thogh thy tonge were ago, 265
 Yit canst thow glose in contenance & cheere ;
 Thow supportist with lookes eueremo
 Thy lordes wordes in eche mateere, 268
 Al-thogh þat they a myte be to deere ;
 And thus thy gyse is priuee and appert
 With word and look' / among our lordes heere
 Preferred be / thogh ther be no dissert. 272

[35]

But whan the sobre / treewe, & weel auysid, 273 [leaf 22, back]
 With sad visage his lord enfourmeth pleyn,
 How þat his gouernance is despysid
 And when good
 advisers

tell their lord	Among the peple / & seith him as they seyn,	276
to amend his goings-on, he bids them leave.	As man treewe oghte vn-to his souereyn, Conseillynge him amende his gouernance, The lordes herte swellith for desdayn, And bit him voide blyue with meschaunce.	280
	[36]	
	Men setten nat by trouthe now adayes ;	281
	Men loue it nat / men wole it nat cherice ; And yit is trouthe best at all assayes.	
	When þat fals fauel, soustenour of vice,	284
	Nat wite shal how hire to cheuyce, Ful boldely shal trouthe hir heed vp bere.	
Let not Flattery nestle in your ears !	Lordes, lest fauel / yow fro wele tryce, No lenger souffre hir nestlen in your ere !	288
	[37]	
	¶ Be as be may / no more of this as now ;	289
	But to my mis reule wole I refeere. Wher as I was at ese weel ynow,	
Before I liud in excesse, I was fairly off : now I am poor.	Or excesse vn-to me leef was, & deere,	292
	And, or I kneew his earnestful maneere, My purs, of coyn had resonable wone ; But now, ther-in can ther but scant appeere :	
	Excesse hath ny exyled hem echone.	296
	[38]	
[leaf 23] Excesse is the Devil,	The feend and excesse been conuertible,	297
	As enditith to me my fantasie : This is my skile / if it be admittible :	
	Excesse of mete & drynke is glotonye ;	300
	Glotonye awakith malencolie ; Malencolie engendrith werre & stryfe ; Stryf causith mortel hurt thurgh hir folie :	
and kills the soul.	Thus may excesse reue a soule hir lyfe.	304
	[39]	
	¶ No force of al this / go we now to wacche	305
	By nightirtale / out of al mesure ; For as in þat / fynde kowde I no macche	

- In al the priues seel with me to endure ; 308
 And to the cuppe ay took I heede & cure,
 For þat the drynke apalle sholde noght.
 But whan the pot emptid was of moisture,
 To wake aftirward / can nat in my thoght. 312
- [40]
- But whan the cuppe had thus my neede sped, 313
 And sumdel more than necessitee,
 With repleet spirit wente I to my bed,
 And bathid there in superfluities. 316
 But on the morn / was wight of no degree
 So looth as I / to twynne fro my cowche :
 By aght I woot / abyde / let me see !
 Of two / as looth / I am seur, kowde I towche. 320
- [41]
- I dar nat seyn Prentys and Arondel 321
 Me countrefete, & in swich wach go ny me ;
 But often they hir bed louen so wel,
 þat of the day / it drawith ny the pryme, 324
 Or they ryse vp / nat tell I can the tyme
 Whan they to bedde goon / it is so late.
 O helthe, lord / thow seest hem in þat cryme !
 And yit thee looth is / with hem to debate. 328
- [42]
- And why / I not / it sit nat vn-to me, 329
 þat mirour am of riot & excesse,
 To knowen of a goddes pryuetee ;
 But thus I ymagyne / and thus I gesse : 332
 Thow meeued art, of tendre gentillesse,
 Hem to forbere / and wilt hem nat chastyse,
 For they, in merthe and vertuous gladnesse,
 Lordes reconforten in sundry wyse. 336
- [43]
- But to my purpos / syn þat my seeknesse, 337
 As wel of purs as body, hath refreyned
 Me fro Tauerne / & othir wantonnesse,

No one in the
Privy-Seal Office
sat up drinking
at night, like I,

or was so loth to
rise in the morn-
ing ;

[leaf 23, back]
tho' my fellow-
clerks, Prentys
and Arondel, often
lay in bed till
9 a.m.

But Health has
not left them

because they
amuse Lords.

Since illness has
kept me from the
Tavern,

my name is despised.	Among an heep / my name is now desteyned, My greuous hurt ful litil is compleyned, But they, the lak' compleyne of my despense. Allas þat euere knyht I was, and cheyned To excesse / or him dide obedience.	340 344
	[44]	
[leaf 24]	Despenses large enhaunce a mannes loos Whil they endure / & whan they be forbore, His name is deed / men keepe hir mowthes cloos, As nat a peny had he spent tofore.	345 348
Hoccleue! Be moderate now!	My thank is qweynt / my purs, his stuf hath lore, And my Carkeis replet with heuynesse. Be waar, Hoccleue / I rede thee therfore, And to a mene reule / thow thee dresse!	 352
	[45]	
	Who-so, passynge mesure, desyrith, (As þat witnessen olde Clerkes wyse,) Him self encombrith often sythe, & myrith;	353
Be satisfied with a middle course!	And for-thy let the mene thee souffyse. If swich a conceit in thyn herte ryse, As thy profyt may hyndre, or thy renoun, If it were execut in any wyse, With manly resoun thriste thow it doun!	356 360
	[46]	
Thy rente are scanty,	Thy rentes annuel / as thow wel woost, To scarce been, greet costes to susteene;	361
thou earnest nothing.	And in thy cofre, pardee, is cold roost, And of thy manuel labour, as I weene, Thy lucre is swich / þat it vnnethe is seene Ne felt / of yiftes seye I eek the same;	 364
Thou dar'st not steal or beg.	And stele, for the guerdoun is so keene, Ne darst thow nat / ne begge also for shame.	 368
	[47]	
[leaf 24, back] Thou borrowedst much.	Than wolde it seeme / þat thow borwid haast Mochil of þat þat thow haast thus despent In outrage & excesse, and verray waast,	369

- Anyse thee / for what thyng þat is lent, 372
 Of verray right / moot hoom ageyn be sent ;
 Thow ther-in haast no perpetuitee.
 Thy dettes paie / lest þat thow be shent, Pay thy debts!
 And or þat thow ther-to compellid be. 376
 [48]
 Sum folk in this cas dreeden more offense 377
 Of man / for wyly wrenches of the lawe,
 Than he dooth, eithir god or conscience ;
 For by hem two, he settith nat [an] hawe. 380
 If thy conceit be swich / thow it withdrawe,
 I rede / and voide it clene out of thyn herte ;
 And first of god, and syn of man, haue awe,
 Lest þat they bothe / make thee to smerte. 384
 [49]
 Now lat this smert, warnynge to thee be ; 385
 And if thow maist heere-aftir be releued
 Of body and purs / so thow gye thee
 By wit / þat thow / no more thus be greued. 388
 What riot is / thow taasted haast, and preued ;
 The fyr / men seyn / he dreedith þat is brent ;
 And if thow do so / thow art wel y-meeued :
 Be now no lenger, fool / by myn assent ! 392
 [50]
 Ey / what is me / þat to my self, thus longe, 393
 Clappid haue I / I trowe þat I raue.
 A / nay / my poore purs / and peynes stronge
 Han artid me speke as I spoken haue. 396
 Who-so him shapith, mercy for to craue,
 His lesson moot recorde in sundry wyse ;
 And whil my breeth may in my body waue,
 To recorde it / vnnethe I may souffyse. 400
 [51]
 ¶ O god ! o helthe ! vn-to thyn ordenance, 401
 Weleful lord / meekly submitte I me.
 I am contryt / & of ful repentance

Fear God, and the law !

If thou recoverest, live well,

and don't be a fool !

[leaf 25]

My poverty and pains make me speak thus.

	pat euere I swymmed in swich nycetee As was displesaunt to thy deitee.	404
O Health, be merciful to me!	Now kythe on me thy mercy & thy grace! It sit a god, been of his grace free; Foryeue / & neuere wole I eft trespase!	408
	[52]	
My body and purs are both sick.	My body and purs been at oones seeke; And for hem bothe / I to thyn hy noblesse, As humbly as pat I can · byseeke With herte vnfeyned / reewe on our distresse!	409 412
	Pitee haue of myn harmful heynessee! Releeue the repentant in disese! Despende on me a drope of thy largesse, Right in this wyse / if it thee lyke & plesse.	416
	[53]	
[leaf 25, back]	¶ Lo, lat my lord the Fourneval, I preye, My noble lord / pat now is tresoreer, From thyn Hynessee haue a tokne or tweye To paie me pat due is for this yeer	417 420
Tell Lord Furnival, the Treasurer, to pay me my yearly £10, due last Michaelmas. I sink the arrears.	Of my yeerly .x. ti. in theschequeer, Nat but for Michel terme pat was last: I dar nat speke a word of ferne yeer, So is my spirit symple and sore agast.	424
[MS.] Annus ille fuit annus restrictionis annuitatum	[54]	
	I kepte nat to be seen inportune In my pursuyte / I am ther-to ful looth; And yit pat gyse / ryf is, and commune Among the peple now, withouten ooth;	425 428
	As the shamelees crauour wole / it gooth, For estaat real / can nat al day werne, But poore shamesfast man ofte is wroth; Therefore, for to craue, moot I lerne.	432
I must learn to beg.	[55]	
The dumb man gets no land.	The prouerbe is / ‘ the dounb man, no lond getith;’ Who-so nat spekith / & with neede is bete, And, thurgh argynesse / his owne self forgetith,	

No wondir / thogh an othir him forgete.	436	
Neede hath no lawe / as þat the Clerkes trete,		
And thus to craue / artith me my neede ;		
And right wole eek' þat I me entremete,		
For þat I axe is due / as god me speede !	440	I ask only for what is due to me.
[56]		
And þat that due is / thy magnificence	441	[leaf 25]
Shameth to werne / as þat I byleeue.		
As I saide / reewe on myn inpotence,		
þat likly am to sterue yit or eeue,	444	
But if thow in this wy[s]e me releue.		
By coyn, I gete may swich medecyne		Coin 'll cure all my hurts.
As may myn hurtes alle, þat me greeue,		
Exyle cleene / & voide me of pyne.	448	

[IV.]

Ceste balade ensupante feust faite au tres
noble Roy .R. le. Vt., (*que dieu par-*
doint !) le iour *que les seigneurs de son*
Roiatme lui firent leur homages
a Henngtoun.

[21 March, 1412-13. In 5-measure eights, *abab bcbe.*]

[1]

T he Kyng of Kynges regnyng' ouer al,		[on leaf 26]
Which stablissid hath in eternitee		
His hy might / þat nat varie he may ne shal,		
So constant is his blisful deitee,	4	K. Henry V.
My lige lord / this grace yow graunte he,		May God grant you to rule virtu- ously !
That your estaat rial / which þat this day	videlicet xxj. die Marchj. A° regni vostri primo.	
Haath maad me lige to your souereyntee,	[1413]	
In reule vertuous continue may.		

[2]

[leaf 26, back]	God dreede / & ficche in him your trust verray !	9
	Be clene in herte / & loue chastitee !	
Be just,	Be sobre / sad / iust / trouthe, obserue alway !	
	Good conseil take / & aftir it do yee !	12
	Be humble in goost / of your tonge attempree ;	
pitiful, and prudent !	Pitous & merciable in special ;	
	Prudent / debonaire, in mesure free ;	
	Nat ouer large / ne vn-to gold thral !	16

[3]

	Be to your liges also sheeld & wal !	17
	Keepe and deffende hem from aduersitee !	
	Hir wele and wo / in your grace lyth al.	
Govern with Law and Equity.	Gouerneth hem in lawe and equitee ;	20
	Conquere hir loue / & haue hem in cheertee !	
Be Holy Church's champion !	Be holy chirches Champioun eek' ay ;	
	Susteene hir right / souffre no thyng doon be	
	In preiudice of hir, by no way !	24

[4]

Scilicet, ecclesiam sanctam.

Drive out heresy !	Strengthe your modir / in chacyng' away	25
	Therroure / which sones of iniquitee	
	Han sowe ageyn the feith / it is no nay,	
	Yee ther-to bownde been of duetee ;	28
	Your office is it / now, for your seurtee,	
	Souffreth nat Crystes feith to take a fal !	
	Vn-to his peple / and youres, cheerly see,	
	In conseruyng' of your estat real !	32

[5]

[leaf 27]	Syn god hath sent yow wit substancial,	33
	And kynges might / vertu, putte in assay !	
	And, lige lord / thogh my conceit be smal,	
	And nat my wordes peynte fressh and gay,	36
	But clappe and iangle foorth, as dooth a iay,	
	Good wil to yow shal ther noon faille in me,	
I'll pray to God for you.	Byseechyng' vn-to god, pat, to his pay,	
	Yee may gouerne your by dignitee.	40

[V. AND VI.]

**Cestes balades ensuyantes¹ feurent faites au
tresnoble Roy H. le quint, (que dieu par-
doint !) & au treshonourable compaignie
du Harter.**

[In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

T o yow, welle of honur and worthynesse,	
Our right cristen kyng / heir & Successour	O King, and
Vn-to Iustinians deuout tendrenesse	
In the feith of Ihesu, our Redemptour ;	4
And to yow, lordes of the garter / ' flour	Lords of the
Of Chiuallrie' / as men yow clepe & calle ;	Garter,
The lord of vertu, and of grace Auctour,	
Graunte / the fruyt of your loos nat appalle !	8 may your praise never lessen !

[2]

O Lige lord, pat han eek' the liknesse	9 [leaf 27, back]
Of Constantyn, thensauple and the mirour	
To Princes alle, in loue & buxumnesse	
To holy chirche / o verray sustenour	12 O King, upholder of our Faith against Heresy,
And piler of our feith, and werreyour	
Ageyn the heresies bittir galle,	
Do foorth / do foorth / continue your socour !	
Holde vp Crystes Baner / lat it nat falle !	16 keep on your help !

[3]

This yle, or this, had been but hethenesse,	17 But for you, we shoud hav been hethens.
Nad been of your feith the force & vigour !	
And yit, this day, the feendes fikelnesse	
Weeneth fully to cacche a tyme & hour	20
To haue on vs, your liges, a sharp shour,	
And to his seruiture / vs knytte and thralle.	

¹ There are two Balades, of 4 stanzas each, under this heading.

	But ay we truste in yow our protectour; On your constance we awayten alle.	24
	[4]	
O King, forbid	Commandith þat no wight haue hardynesse, (Our worthy kyng and cristen Emperour !)	25
open disputing about the Faith !	Of the feith to despute more or lesse Openly among peple / where errour Spryngith al day / & engendrith rumour. Makith swich lawe / & for aght may befallē, Obserue it wel / ther-to been yee dettour. Dooth so / and god / in glorie shal yow stalle.	28
	[5] [VI. 1]	32
[leaf 26] Lords of the Gar- ter, slay Christ's foes !	Yee lordes eek shynynge in noble fame, To whiche approped is the maintenance Of Crystes cause ! In honour of his name Shoue on / & putte his foos to the outtraunce !	33
[MS.] ¶ quia Rex illam iusticiam am partem tenet	God wolde so / so wolde eek' your ligeance : To the two prikkith yow your duetee : Who-so nat keepith this double obseruance, Of meryt & honour / nakid is he.	36
	[6] [VI. 2]	40
	Your style seith / þat yee been foos to shame. Now kythe of your feith / the perseuerance In which an heep of vs arn halt & lame . Our Cristen kyng of Engeland and France, And yee, my lordes, with your alliance, And othir feithful peple þat ther be, Truste I to god, shul qwenche al this nusance, And this land sette in hy prosperitee.	41
Qwench the nuisance of Heresy !		44
	[7] [VI. 3]	48
	Conqueste of hy prowesse is for to tame The wylde woodnesse of this mescreance Right to the roote / rype yee þat saine ! Sleepē nat this / but for goddes plesance And his modres / & in signifiāce þat yee been of seint Georges liueree,	49
Act at once !		52

Dooth him seruice and knyghtly obeissance !
 For Crystes cause is his / wel knowen yee ! 56
 [8] [VI. 4]
 Stif stande in pat / & yee shuln greeue & grame 57 [leaf 21, back]
 The fo to pees / & norice of distaunce ;
 That now is earnest / torne it in-to game ;
 Dampnable fro feith were variance ! 60 Here is
 Lord lige / & lordes, haue in remembraunce, damnable
 Lord of al is the blissid Trinitee,
 Of whos vertu / the mighty habundaunce
 Yow herte & strengthe in feithful vnitee ! Amen ! 64
 Cest tout.

[VII.]

An beatam Virginem.

[In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

Modir of lyf / o cause of al our welthe, Mother of Life!
 Fyndere of grace and of our medecyne !
 Where-as an appil reffe our lyf and helthe,
 And marie[de] vs vn-to ay lastyng pyne, 4 from the curse of
 As sones of perdicion and ruyne ; the apple
 That matrymoyne / thy virginitee
 Dissolued / & vnbownden hath, virgyne,
 And at our large / maad vs walke free ! 8 thou hast freed us.

[2]

O blessid be thou ! vessel of clenness, 9 [leaf 22]
 In whom our soules salue list habyte !
 O tree of lyf / swettest of al swetnesse,
 In thy fruyt yeue vs grace to delyte !
 And thogh thy sone, cause haue vs to smyte 12 Tree of Life ! let
 us delight in thy
 fruit !

	Despeir heer'-aftir shal me nat deceyue, þat I ne shal ay thee byseeche of grace.	
Lady, thy might can win me pardon !	Thy might, I woot wel, is my gilt to weyue, And of my trespas · pardoun me purchase.	80
	[11]	
[leaf 80, back]	Thow, Crystes modir / sholdest neuere han be, Ne had our synnes causid it certayn ; For why / it had be no necessitee But for thow qwikne shuldest vs agayn,	81 84
	þat for our gilt original wern slayn. Thow art his modir / wherfore I thee preye	
Didstain not to save me !	To saue me / haue thow no desdayn, þat of bountee & mercy art the keye !	88
	[12]	
	Euene as the moone / a mene is verrailly Betwixt vs and the sonne / of whom hir light Shee takith / & it vniuerselly Yeueth vn-to the world whan it is nyght ;	89 92
Christ gave thee the light of Grace to lighten all folk with.	In swich a wyse / god, thy sone right, The light of grace betook' vn-to thee, For to mynistre it vn-to euery nyght þat ther-of list enlumyned to be.	96
	[13]	
	Thyn humble goost, & maydens chastitee, For our behoue han so mochil wroght In sundry wyse / as þat wel knowen we, þat thee to thanke / we souffyse noght.	97 100
Thou hast turnd a God of Ven- geance into a Lord of Mercy.	Thow hast vs vn-to swich a plyt I-broght, þat he, þat lord was sum tyme of vengeance, With his blood hath our synful soules boght, And is now lord of mercy & souffrance.	104
	[14]	
[leaf 81]	Where is a streighter way vn-to man-kynde, To god, thy sone / our soules for to lede, Than where as þat we may thy sone fynde Reform his fadir, with his wowndes rede,	105 108

And the before hem / mercy for to grede :		Thou showest
Thy sone his body shewith al bybled ;		Christ thy pape,
And to thy sone also, thy maydenhede		and he shows God
Shewith the pappes / wher-with he was fed.	112	His wounds to get
		us mercy.
[15]		
O blessid Ihesu ! for thy modres loue ;	113	Christ and Mary,
And modir ! for the hy dileccion		
pat thow hast to thy sone in heuene aboue,		
Haueth me, bothe, in your proteccion !	116	protect me !
Plante in myn herte swich correccion,		
pat I, your grace / & your mercy may haue,		
And fully stande in youre affeccion,		
Or my body be clothid in his graue !	120	
Cest tout.		

[VIII.]

¶ Ceste balade ensuyante feust faite tost
apres que les ossez du Roy Richard
feurent apportez a Westmouster.

[A.D. 1413. In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

Where-as pat this land wont was for to be		[leaf 31, back]
Of sad byleeue & constant vnioñ ;		
And as pat holy chirche vs taghte / we		
With herte buxum lerned our lessoñ ;	4	We are no longer
Now han we changid our condicioñ !		as of old, one in
Allas ! an heap of vs, the feith werreye ;		Faith !
We waden so deepe in presumpcioñ,		
pat vs nat deyneth vn-to god obeye.	8	

[2]

We rekken nat thogh Crystes lore deye ;	9
The feend hath maad vs dronke of the poisonn	

We have drunk
the Devil's poison
of Heresy !

Of heresie / & lad vs a wrong weye,
þat torne shal to our confusioun, 12

But if þat left be this abusioun.

And yit, seur confort haue I / thynkith me :

Our lige lord, the kyng, is Champioun

For holy chirche / Crystes knyght is he ! 16

[3]

For why, o reuerent goostly fadres, yee, 17

And we, your sones eek', han enchesoun

Right greet / to thanke god in Trinitee,

þat of his grace / hath sent this Regioun 20

So noble an heed / looke vp, thow Alboun !

But (thank God!)
Henry V. is
Heresy's foe.

God thanke / & for thy cristen Prince preye,

Syn he, fo is to this Rebellioun :

He, of thy soules helthe, is lok' and keye ! 24

[4]

[leaf 32]

What mighten folk' of good byleeue seye, 25

If bent were our kynges affection

To the wrong part / who sholde hem help purueye ?

A heretic king
might ruin our
Faith. But God
has sent us
Henry,

A kyng set in þat wrong opinioun, 28

Mighte of our feith be the subuersioun ;

But eterne god, in persones three,

Hath reyned drops of compassioun,

And sent vs our good kyng for our cheertee ! 32

[5]

See eek' how our Kynges benignitee 33

And louyng' herte / his vertu can bywreya.

Who has buried

Our kyng Richard þat was / yee may wel see,

Is nat fled from his remembrance aweye. 36

My wit souffysith nat to peyse and weye

With what honour he broght is to this toun,

Richard II. by
his Queen in
Westminster
Abbey.

And with his queene at Westmynstre in thabbeye

Solempnely in Tounbe leid adoun. 40

[6]

Now god, byseeche I, in conclusioun, 41

Henri the .V.* in ioie & hy nobleye

Regne on vs yeeres many a milioun !		
And where as þat men erren & forueye,	44	May Henry V. reign many million years!
Walkynge blyndly in the dirk aleye		
Of heresie / o lord god, preye I thee,		And God lead all Heretics to the Faith !
Enspire hem / þat no lenger they folseie !		
To feithes path / hem lede thy pitee ! Amen !	48	

[IX.]

[Balade to my gracious Lord of York.]

[Father of Edward IV. about 1448 A.D.]

[In 5-measure nines, *aab, aab, bab.*]

[1]

Go, little pamflet, and streight thee dresse		[leaf 32, back]
Vn-to the noble rootid gentillesse		Go, little pamflet, to the Duke of
Of the myghty Prince of famous honour,	3	York,
My gracious lord of york' / to whos noblesse		
Me recommande with hertes humblesse,		
As he þat haue his grace & his fauour	6	
Fownden alway / for which I am dettour		
For him to preye / & so shal my symplesse		
Hertily do / vn-to my dethes hour.	9	

[2]

Remembre his worthynesse, I charge thee,	10	
How ones at Londoñ, desired he,		
Of me þat am his seruant / & shal ay,	12	who once at London sekt me to send him all the Balades I had.
To haue of my balades swich plentee		
As ther weren remeynyng vn-to me ;		
And for nat wole I ¹ / to his wil seyn nay,	15	
But fulfille it / as ferfoorth as I may,		
Be thow an owter ² of my nycetee,		
For my good lordes lust, and game, & play.	18	

¹ Again, why not 'I wole nat' ?
HOCLEVE, M.P.—I.

² outputter, vent.
B

[3]

	My lord, byseeke eek' in humble maneere,	19
	That he nat souffre thee for to appeere	
But let him not show this to his Duchess,	In thonurable sighte, or the presence,	21
	Of the noble Princesse & lady deere,	
[leaf 33]	My gracious lady / my good lordes feere,	24
	The mirour of wommanly excellence.	
	Thy cheer' is naghit / ne haast noon eloquence	
	To moustre thee before hir' yen cleere :	
	For myn honour / were holsum thyn absence.	27

[4]

	Yit ful fayn wolde I haue a messageer	28
	To recommande me, with herte enteer,	
	To hir benigne & humble wommanhede ;	30
tho I have none o'ther to send her.	And at the tyme / haue I noon othir heer	
	But thee / & smal am I, for thee, the neer.	
	And if thou do it nat / than shal þat dede	33
	Be left / & þat nat kepte I / out of drede.	
	My Lord / nat I / shal haue of thee / poweer.	
	Axe him a licence / vp on him crie & grede !	36

[5]

	Whan þat thou hast thus doon / than aftirward	37
Also, ask Prince Edward not to let Mr. Picard see it.	Byseeche thou þat worthy Prince Edward,	
	þat he thee leye apart / for what may tyde,	39
	Lest thee beholde my Maister Picard.	
	I warne thee / þat it shal be ful hard	
	For thee & me to halte on any syde,	42
	But he espie vs / yit no force / abyde !	
But, yes, let him look at it !	Let him looke on / his herte is to me ward	
	So freendly / þat our shame wole he hyde.	45

[6]

[leaf 33, back]	If þat I in my wrytynge foleye,	46
	As I do ofte, (I can it nat withseye,)	
	Meetrynge amis / or speke vnfittyngly,	48
	Or nat by iust peys / my sentences weye,	
	And nat to the ordre of endytyng' obeye,	

- And my colours sette ofte sythe awry! 51
 With al myn herte wole I buxumly,
 It to amende and to correcte, him preye;
 For vndir his correccioun stande y. 54
 [7]
 Thow foul book', vn-to my lord seye also, 55
 þat pryde is vn-to me so greet a fo,
 þat the spectacle, forbedith he me, 57
 And hath y-doone of tyme yore ago;
 And for my sighte blyue hastith me fro,
 And lakkith þat þat sholde his confort be, 60
 No wonder thogh thow haue no beautee.
 Out vp-on pryde / causer' of my wo!
 My sighte is hurt thurgh hir aduersitee. 63
 [8]
 Now ende I thus / the holy Trinitee, 64
 And our lady / the blissid mayden free,
 My lord & lady haue in gouernance! 66
 And graunte hem ioie & hy prosperitee,
 Nat to endure / oonly two yeer or thre,
 But a .M.†! and if any plesance 69
 Happe mighte, on my poore souffissance,
 To his prowessse / & hir benignitee,
 My lyues ioie it were, and sustenance! 72
 Cest tout.

I'll correct it as
he tells me.

I'm too proud to
wear spectacles,

and therefore
make faults.

May the Trinity
protect the Duke
and Duchess!

Fol. 25, Johannes Talbot, Dominus de Furnival, was first summoned to Parl^t 11 H. 4, and to many subsequent Parl^{ts} in that reign and the next . . . T. Tyrwhitt. [Note in MS.]

Balade to Duke of York, lf. 32 bk. Prince Edw^d (after, Edw. IV), not born till about 1442. If we suppose him 6 years old (and he could not be much less to be under the tuition of Maister Picard), this poem was written in 1448. [Note in MS.]

[X.]

Ad beatam Virginem.

(Generally call'd CHAUCER's "Mother of God.")

[In 5-measure sevens, ababb, cc.]

[1]

Mother of God,	M odir of god / and virgyne vndeffouled ! O blisful queene / of queenes Emperice !	1
Pray to Christ for sinful me!	Preye for me / þat am in synne mowled; To god thy sone / punyssh'er of vice, þat of his mercy / thogh þat I be nyce, And negligent in keepyng of his lawe, His hy mercy, my soule / vn-to him drawe.	5 7

[2]

Mother of Mercy!	Modir of mercy / wey of indulgence, þat of al vertu art superlatyf, Sauer' of vs by thy beneuolence, Humble lady / mayde / modir and wyf ! Causer of pees / feynter' of wo & stryf !	8 12
Present my prayer to thy Son!	My prayer' vn-to thy sone presente, Syn for my gilt I fully me repente.	14

[3]

[leaf 34, back]	Benigne confort of vs wrecches alle !	15
Be with me at my death!	Be at myn endyng' / whan þat I shal deye ! O welle of pitee / vn-to thee I calle ! Ful of swetnesse / helpe me to weye Ageyn the feend / þat with his handes tweye, And his might, plukke wole / at the balance To weye vs down / keepe vs from his nusanse !	19 21

[4]

	And, for thow art ensauple of chastitee, And of virgyne / worsship and honour, Among all women blessid thow be !	22
Pray Christ to	Now speke and preye to our Sauueur,	25

þat he me sende swich grace & fauour, 26 qwenche all lust in
 þat al the hete of brennyng^r Leccherie me!
 He qwenche in me, blessid maiden Marie ! 28

[5]

O blessid lady / the cleer light of day ! 29
 Temple of our lord / and roote of al goodnesse !
 þat by prayers wapest cleene away
 The filthes of our synful wikkidnesse,
 Thyn hand forth putte / & helpe my distresse, 33
 And fro temptacioun deliure me
 Of wikkid thoght / thurgh thy benignitee, 35

Deliver me from
 wicked thoughts !

[6]

So þat the wil fulfild be of thy sone, 36 [leaf 35]
 And þat of the holy goost he menlumyne.
 Preye for vs, as ay hath be thy wone !
 Lady / alle swiche emprises been thyne.
 Swich an aduocatrice, who can dyuynie, 40
 As thow / right noon / our greeues to redresse :
 In thy refuyt is al our sikirnesse. 42

Pray for us, as
 thou art wont !

[7]

Thow shapen art by goddes ordenance, 43
 Mene for vs, flour of humilitee :
 Ficche þat, lady, in thy remembraunce,
 Lest our fo, the feend, thurgh his sotiltee,
 þat in awayt lyth for to cacche me, 47
 Me ouercome with his treecherie.
 Vn-to my soules helthe thow me gye ! 49

Guide me to my
 soul's health !

[8]

Thow art the way of our Redempcioun, 50
 For cryst of thee hath deyed for to take
 Flessh and eek' blood / for this entencioun,
 Vp on a crois to die for our sake :
 His precious deeth made the feendes qwake, 54
 And cristen folk' for to reioisen euere.
 From his mercy / helpe / vs we nat disseuere ! 56

Let us not depart
 from His mercy !

[9]

[leaf 35, back]
Remember thy
woe at His Cross,

and that He died
to save mankind.

Tendrelly remembre on the wo & peyne 57
þat thow souffridist in his passioun,
Whan watir & blood, out of thyn yen tweyne,
For sorwe of him, ran by this cheekes doun !
And syn thow knowest þat the enchesoun 61
Of his deeth was / for to saue al man kynde,
Modir of mercy, þat haue in thy mynde ! 63

[10]

Thou art destined
to heal our Soules.

Wel oghiten we thee worshiþe & honure, 64
Paleys of Cryst / flour of virginitee !
Syn vp on thee / was leid the charge & cure,
The lord to bere, of heuene & eerthe & see,
And alle thynges þat ther ynne be. 68
Of heuenes kyng, thow art predestinat
To hele our soules of hir seek estat. 70

[11]

Blessed be thy
womb and teats !

Thy maidens wombe, in which our lord lay, 71
Thy tetes / whiche him yaf to sowke also
To our sauynge / be they blessid ay !
The birthe of Cryst / our thraldom putte vs fro,
Ioie & honour / be now & eueremo 75
To him and thee / þat vn-to libertee,
Fro thraldam, han vs qwit / blessid be yee ! 77

[12]

[leaf 36]

Thou canst get
forgiveness for all
our sins !

By thee, lady, y-makid is the pees 78
Betwixt Angels and men / it is no doute.
Blessid be god, þat swich a modir chees !
Thy gracious bountee spredith al aboute.
Thogh þat oure hertes steerne been, & stoute, 82
Thow to thy sone canst be swich a mene,
That all our giltes he foryeueth clene. 84

[13]

By thee, the gates
of Hell are
broken.

Paradys yates opned been by thee, 85
And broken been the yates eek of helle !
By thee / the world restored is pardee !

Of al vertu / thow art the spryng & welle!

By thee, al bountee / shortly for to telle, 89

In heuene & eerthe, by thyn ordenance

Parformed is / our soules sustenance! 91

[14]

Now, syn thow art of swich auctoritee, 92

Lady pitous, virgyne wemmelees,

þat our lord god nat list to werne thee

Of thy requeste / I wot wel / doutelees

Than spare nat / forth thee to putte in prees 96

To preye for vs, Crystes modir deere!

Benygnely wole he, thyn axyng' heere. 98

Pray for us; and
Christ will grant
thy prayer!

[15]

Apostle, and freend familier of Cryst, 99

And his y-chosen virgyne / seint Ion /

Shynyng apostle / & euangelyst,

And best beloved among hem echon!

With our lady, preye I thee to been oon, 103

þat vn-to Cryst shal for vs alle preye:

Do thus for vs / Crystes derlyng, I seye! 105

[leaf 86, back]
Saint John! join
our Lady in pray-
ing to Christ for
us!

[16]

Marie & Ion, heuenely gemmes tweyne!

O lightes two, shynyng in the presence

Of our lord god / now do your bysy peyne

To wasshe away our cloudeful offense,

So þat we mowen make resistance

Ageyn the feend / & make him to bewaile 110

þut your preyere may so moche auaille. 112

help us against
the Devil!

[17]

Yee been the two, I knowe verrailly, 113

In which the fadir god gan edifie

(By his sone oonlygeten specially)

To him an hows / wherfore I to yow crye,

'Beeth leches of our synful maladie!

Preyeth to god / lord of misericorde, 117

Oure olde giltes / þat he nat recorde!' 119

Cure our sinful
malady!

[18]

Be our protec-
tion !

‘ Be yee oure help and our proteccioun, 120
 Syn, for meryt of your virginitee,
 The priuilege of his dileccioun
 In yow confermed god, vp on a tree
 Hangyng’ / and vn-to oon of yow seide he 124
 Right in this wyse / as I reherce can,
 “ Beholde ! heere, lo / thy sone, womman ! ” 126

[19]

Help us in our
need !

‘ And to þat othir / “ heer thy modir, lo ! ” 127
 Than preye I thee / þat for the greet swetnesse
 Of the hy loue / þat god, twixt yow two,
 With his mowth made / and of his noblesse
 Conioyned hath yow / thurgh his blisfulnesse, 131
 As modir and sone, helpe vs in our neede !
 And, for our giltes, make oure hertes bleede ! 133

[20]

O Mary and John,

help me to make
my heart the
dwelling of the
Holy Ghost !

Vn-to yow tweyne / I my soule commende, 134
 Marie and Iohn, for my sauacioun !
 Helpith me þat I may my lyf amende !
 Helpith now / þat the habitacioun
 Of the holy goost, our recreacioun, 138
 Be in myn herte now and eueremore !
 And of my soule / washe away the sore ! Amen !

[XI.]

*Ce feust mys en le liure de monseigneur
 Johan, lors nommez / ore Regent de
 France & Duc de Bedford.*

[In 5-measure ninea, *abab, bcbbc.*]

[1]

[leaf 87, back]
To the Duke of
Bedford, I pre-

Vn-to the rial egles excellence,
 I, humble Clerc, with al hertes humblesse,

This book¹ presente / & of your reuerence
 Byseeche I pardon and foryeuenesse,
 þat, of myn ignorance & lewdenesse,
 Nat haue I write it in so goodly wyse
 As þat me oghte vn-to your worthynesse.
 Myn yen / hath custumed bysynesse
 So daswed / þat I may no bet souffyse.

sent this Balade,

4

9 tho it is not good,
because my work
has dazed my eyes.

[2]

I dreede lest þat my maister Massy,
 þat is of fructuous intelligence,
 Whan he beholdith how vnconnyngly
 My book is metrid / how raw my sentence
 How feeble eek been my colours: his prudence
 Shal sore encombrid been of my folie;
 But yit truste I / þat his beneuolence
 Complayne wole myn insipience
 Secretly / & what is mis / rectifie.

Mr. Massy too

13 will see its weak-
ness, but will (I
trust)

18 set it right.

[3]

Thow book / by licence of my lordes grace,
 To thee speke I / and this I to thee seye:
 I charge thee / to shewe thow thy face
 Beforn my seid Maistir / & to him preye
 On my behalue / þat he peise and weye
 What myn entente is, þat I speke in thee,
 For rethorik hath hid fro me the keye
 Of his tresor / nat deyneth hir nobleye
 Dele with noon so ignorant as me!

19

22

Let him weigh my
intent, and excuse
the want of
Rhetoric.

26

[leaf 38]

Cest tout.

¹ The poem, fol. 37 b. to Monsr. Johan (afterwards Duke of Bedford), and that, fol. 39 b. to the Prince (afterwards Henry V), were both sent with the book of the *Regimen of Princes*, and are added at the end of that book in MS. Reg. 17, D. XVIII. [Brit. Mus.] . . . T. Tyrwhitt (Letter pasted in the MS.).

This poem is not in MS. Reg. 17, D. VI. which the late Thos. Wright printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1860. That has only, at end, the poem on p. 61, below.

[XII.]

[Balade to my Lord the Chancellor.]

[About 1407—1410. In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

My Lord, *do* **F**adir in god, benigne and reuerent,
 My lord the Chancellor / with al humblesse
 I, your seruant at your commandement,
give me a Patent Byseeche vn-to your excellent noblesse, 4
to get my arrears
paid! þat my patente bere may witnesse
 That myne arrerages been granted me :
 Right as your staf / your warant wole expresse /
 Byseeche I, y, yow so my patente be. 8

[2]

You've always I truste in yow / for euere or this han yee
been a good lord
to me. Be my good lord / and now to stynte / I gesse,
 Applied is nat your benignitee,
 Specially / syn my poore symplesse 12
 Nat hath offendid your hy worthynesse
 Wityngly ; but myn herte is euere bent
 To sheete at yow good wil / in soothfastnesse,
 Ther'-in am I ful hoot & ful feruent. 16

[3]

[leaf 38, back] O my lord gracious, wys, and prudent !
 To me, your Clerc / beeth of your grace free !
 Let see now cacche a lust and a talent
Do bear me Me to haue in your fauour & cheertee. 20
favour now !
 Ther'-on wayte I / I wayte on your bountee,
 That to so manye han shewid gentillesse.
 Let me¹ no stepchyld been / for I am he
 That hope haue in yow, confort & gladnesse. 24

Crest tout.

¹ MS. me be.

[XIII.]

Cestes Balade & chanceon ensupantes
feurent faites a mon Meistre H. Somer,
quant il estoit Souztresorer.¹

[Written between Michaelmas and Christmas, 1407 (?). In
5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

The Sonne, with his bemes of brightnesse,
To man so kyndly is, & norisshynge,
þat lakkyng^r it / day nere but dirknesse :
To day he yeueth his enlumynyng,
And causith al fruyt for to wexe & sprynge :
Now, syn þat sonne² may so moche auaiþ,
And moost with Somer is his soiournynge,
That sesoun bounteous we wole assaiþ.

The sun that
nourishes man

4

comes most in
summer.

8

[2]

Glad cheerid Somer / to your gouvernaille
And grace / we submitte al our willynge !
To whom yee freendly been / he may nat faille
But he shal haue his resonable axynge :
Aftir your good lust, be the sesonyng
Of our fruytes / this laste Mighelmesse,
The tyme of yeer was of our seed ynnynge,
The lak of which / is our greet heynesse. <

9

[leaf 39]

Then, Somer,

12

get us our
Michaelmas pay !

16

[3]

We truste vp-on your freendly gentillesse,
Ye wole vs helpe / and been our suppo[rt]aille.
Now yeue vs cause ageyn this cristemesse
For to be glad / o' lord / whethir our taille
Shal soone make vs with our shippes saille
To port salut^r ! if yow list / we may syng,

17

Make us glad by
Christmas !

20

¹ Somer was made a Baron of the Exchequer on Nov. 8, 1408.
See him calld Sir Henry Somer, on p. 64.

² MS. *senne*.

	And elles, moot vs bothe mourne & waille, Til your fauour vs sende releeyng.	24
	[4]	
We 4, Hoccleue, Baillay, Hethe and Offorde, pray you to get our Salaries paid;	We, your seruantes, Hoccleue & Baillay, Hethe & Offorde, yow beseeche & preye, 'Haasteth our heruest / as soone as yee may!' For fere of stormes / our wit is aweye; Were our seed Inned / wel we mighten pleye, And vs desporte / & synge / & make game,	25
and then we'll sing you this	And yit this rowndel shul we synge & seye In trust of yow / & honour of your name.	28 32

[5]

Rowndel:

[Rowndel, or Chauceon to Somer.]

	[1: <i>Burden.</i>]	
[leaf 39, back] Summer! all men ar bound to bless thee,	Somer, pat rypest mannes sustenance With holsum hete of the Sonnes warmnesse, Al kynde of man thee holden is to blesse!	(3) 35
	[2]	
and thy glad look,	Ay thankid be thy freendly gouernance, And thy fressh look of mirthe & of gladnesse!	(5) 37
	Somer &c	(6—8)
	[3]	
which cheers all and folk,	To heuy folk / of thee the remembraunce Is salue & oynement to hir seeknesse. For why / we thus shul synge in Cristemesse,	(11) 40
	Somer &c	(12—14.)

[XIV.]

Ceste balade ensupante feust mise en le
fin du liure del Regiment des Princes.

[See note 1, above, p. 57; and p. 195-6, of T. Wright's edition
of the *De Regimine* (about 1412 A.D.), Roxb. Club, 1860.
In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

O litil book / who yaf thee hardynesse
Thy wordes to pronounce in the presence
Of kynges ympe and Princes worthynesse,
Syn thow al nakid art of eloquence?
And why approachist thow his excellence,
Vnclothid, sauf thy kirtil bare also?
I am right seur, his humble pacience
Thee yeueth hardynesse to do so. J

O Book, who gave
thee boldness to
go before the
the Prince of
Wales?

4

His patience.

8

[2]

But o thyng woot I wel; go wher thow go,
I am so pryuee vn-to thy sentence,
Thow haast, and art / and wilt been eueremo,
To his hynesse of swich beneuolence!
Thogh thow nat do him due reuerence
In wordes / thy cheertee nat is the lesse.
And if lust be, to his magnificence,
Do by thy reed / his welthe it shal witesse!

9

12

Thou art full of
good will to him,
tho thy words be
poor.

16

[3]

Byseeche him, of his gracious noblesse,
Thee holde excusid of thyn innocence
Of endytynge / and with hertes humblesse,
If any thyng thee passe of negligence,
Byseeche him of mercy and indulgence,
And pat, for thy good wil¹ / he be nat fo
To thee / pat al seist of loues feruence!
pat knowith god² / whom no thyng is hid fro.

17

Pray him to ex-
cuse thy ignor-
ance,

20

24

as it speaks from
love, which God
knows.

Cest tout.

¹ hert—ed. Wright (MS. Reg. 17, D. VI.) ² he—ed. Wright.

[XV.]

¶ Item au Roy, que dieu pardoint!

[1]

O King, give us

Victorious Kyng, our lord ful gracious,
 We, humble lige men to your hynesse,
 Meekly byseechen yow (o kyng pitous!)
 Tendre pitee haue on our sharp distresse;

4

[leaf 40, back]
 three some money!

For, but the flood of your rial largesse
 Flowe vp on vs / gold hath vs in swich hate,
 þat of his loue and cheertee the scantnesse
 Wole arte vs thre¹ to trotte vn-to Newgate.

8

Or else we must
 trot into Newgate.

[2]

Benigne lige lord! o hauene & yate
 Of our confort! let your hy worthynesse
 Oure indigences softne / & abate!
 In yow lyth al / yee may our greef redresse!

12

We don't ask for
 much.

The somme þat we in our bill expresse,
 Is nat excessif ne outrageous;

And we've workt
 long and hard for
 it!

Our long seruice also berith witesse,
 We han for it be ful laborious.

16

[3]

O lige lord, þat han be plenteuous
 Vn-to your Liges / of your grace algate,
 Styntith nat now for to be bounteuous
 To vs, your seruantz of the olde date!
 God woot we han been ay, eerly & late,
 Louynge lige men to your noblesse.

17

Don't stop your
 bounty to your
 old servants,

To vs, your seruantz of the olde date!

20

and let us turn
 paupers!

Lat nat the strook' of indigence vs mate,
 O worthy Prince! mirour of prowesse!

24

Cest tout.

¹ There were 4: Hoccleve, Baillay, Hethe and Offorde, on p. 60, l. 25-6.

[XVI.]

[Balade to my maister Carpenter.]

[In 5-measure sevens, *ababb*, cc.]

[1]

See heer, my maister Carpenter,¹ I yow preye,
 How many chalenges ageyn me be ;
 And I may nat deliure hem by no weye,
 So me werreyeth coynes scarsetee,
 That ny Cousin is to necessitee.
 For why, vn-to yow seeke I for refut,
 Which *pat* of confort am ny destitut.

[2]

Tho men / whos names I aboue expresse,
 Fayn wolden *pat* they and I euene were :
 And so wolde I / god take I to witness !
 I woot wel, I moot heere / or elles where
 Rekne of my dettes / & of hem answers.
 Myn herte, for the dreede of god & awe,
 Fayn wolde it qwyte / & for constreynt of lawe.

[3]

But, by my trouthe / nat wole it betyde !
 And therefore, as faire as I can & may,
 With aspen herte / I preye hem abyde,
 And me *respyte* / to sum lenger day.
 Some of hem grante / and some of hem seyn ' nay !'
 And I so sore ay dreede an aftir clap,
 That it me reueth many a sleep & nap.

[4]

If *pat* it lykid / vn-to your goodnesse,
 To be betwixt [hem] and me, swich a mene

[leaf 41]

¶ A. d B. & C. d
 D. &c. [Cred-
 itors].

¶ Ceste balade
 feust tendrement
 considere, & bone-
 ment execute.

Mr. Carpenter,
 I can't pay my
 creditors.

5

Help me !

7

8

They want their
 money.

12

14 And I do wish I
 could pay em.

15

But, upon my
 word, I can't.

19

Some won't giv
 me time. This

21

stops my sleeping.

22

[leaf 41, back]

¹ 'Carpenter' is written over an erasure, the original having probably another name, to whose owner it had been sent, as it was doubtless afterwards sent to other moneyful folk. Carpenter was no doubt the famous town-clerk of London (1417-38), its M.P. and benefactor &c., born 1370, died 1441.

Pray keep me out of gaol!	As þat I mighte kept be fro duresse!	
	Myn heuy thoghþtes wolde it voide clene.	
	As your good plesance is / this thyng demene!	26
	How wel þat yee doon / & how soone also,	
	I suffre ¹ may in qwenchyng of my wo.	28
	Cest tout.	

[XVII.]

Ceste balade ensugante feust, par la Court
de bone compaignie, enuoiee a lonure
sire Henri Sommer, Chaunceller de
leschequer,² & bn de la dicte
Court.

[After 1408. In 5-measure sevens, *ababb*, cc.]

[1]

[on leaf 41, back]	Worshipful sir ¹ , and our freend special,	1
	And felawe, in this cas / we calle yow.	
Sir Henry, your letter wants us	Your letre sent vn-to vs / cleerly / al	
	We haue red / & vndirstanden how	
	It is no wit to your conceit, as now,	5
to start a fresh custom.	Vse the rule foorth as we been Inne;	
	But al an othir rule to begyne:	7

[2]

[leaf 42]	Rehercyng how, in the place of honour,	8
You tell us that our Club in the Temple	The Temple / for solace / & for gladnesse,	
	Wher as nat oghþe vsid been errour	
	Of ouer mochil waast or of excesse,	
was founded to spend a lot of money.	First wern we fowndid to vse largesse	12
	In our despenses / hut for to exceede	
	Reson / we han espyed / yee nat beede.	14

¹ It's 'souffre' before, p. 50, l. 20; 54, l. 58, and at 68, l. 51.

² He was to come and preside at the Court's dinner on the Thursday following, May 1.

[3]

- ¶ Yee allegge eek' / how a rule hath be kept 15 Also, that we were
 Or this / which was good / as yee haue herd seyn ;
 But it now late / cessid hath, & slept ;
 Which good yow thynkith / were vp take ageyn : and we ought to
 And but if it so be / our Court certeyn, 19 be so aguin,
 Nat likly any whyle is to endure ;
 As hath in mowthe, many a creature. 21

[4]

- Yee wolden, þat in conseruacioun 22
 Of our' honour / & eek' for our profyt,
 þat thentente of our' old fundacioun
 Obserued mighte been / & to þat plyt
 Be broght as it was first / & passe al qwynt 26 and have no out-
 Out of the daunger of outrageous waast, rageous waste.
 Lest with scorn & repreef, feede vs swich taast. 28

[5]

- Vn-to þat ende, .vj*. shippes grete,¹ 29 [leaf 42, back]
 To yeue vs han yee grauntid & behight,
 To bye ageyn our dyner, flour or whete ;
 And besyde it / as reson wole, & right,
 Paie your lagh / as dooth an othir wight, 33
 þat by mesure rulith him, and gyeth,
 And nat as he / whom outrage maistrieth. 35

[6]

- In your letre / contened is also, 36
 þat if vs list to chaunge in no maneere
 Our newe gyse, ne twynne ther-fro !
 The firste day of May, yee wole appeere,
 (þat day yee sette be with vs in feere,) 40

And, if we'll not
 alter our new
 fashion, you'll
 dine with us on
 the 1st of May.

¹ The great Noble of Edward III. stampd with a Ship, in which he sat, bearing his shield on his left arm, and his sword in his right hand, was issued in 1344, in honour of his naval victory over the French, off Sluys, on Midsummer Day 1340. Its worth was 6s. 8d. The Ship lasted thro' all our Kings to the early days of Q. Elizabeth. The half-Noble also had the Ship ; the quarter-Noble, not. See *Ruding*, p. 219.

	And to keepe it / yee wole be reedy : This is theeffect of your letre soothly.	42
	[7]	
We answer :	To the whiche, in this wyse we answere :	43
You're not bound to be extravagant.	Excesse for to do / be yee nat bownde, Ne noon of vs / but do as we may bere : Vp-on swich rule, we nat vs ne grownde.	
The you've plenty of money do as you think proper !	Yee been discreet / thogh yee in good habownde Dooth as yow thinkith for your honestee ! Yee, and we all, arn at our libertee.	47 49
	[8]	
(leaf 45) At our last Dinner	At our laste dyner / wel knowen yee By our Stywardes limitacioun, (As custume of our Court axith to be,) And ay at our congregacion Observed / left al excusacion,	50 54
you wer warnd to provide dinner for next Thursday.	Warned yee wern / for the dyner arraye Ageyn thorsday next, & nat it delaye.	56
	[9]	
Pray don't let us go without our dinner !	Be yow nat holde aysid in swich wyse As for to make vs destitut, þat day, Of our dyner / take on yow þat empryse,	57
Put down excess, if you like!	If your lust be / dryueth excesse away. Of wyse men / mochil / folk' lerne may : Discrecion mesurith euery thyng :	61
	Despende aftir your plesance & lykyng!	63
	[10]	
Be a pattern to us,	Ensaumpleth vs / let seen / & vs miroure ; As þat it seemeth good to your prudence, Reule þat day / for the thank' shal be youre ;	64
and let us drink only what you please,	Dooth as yow list be drawe in consequence ; ¹ We trusten in your wys experience ;	68
but do give us the Dinner we expect !	But keepith wel your tourn / how so befallé, On thorsday next / on which we awayte alle.	70
	Cest tout.	

¹ Have as much wine drawn as you think fit.

[XVIII.]

Ceste balade ensugante feust translatee
au commandement de mon Meistre
Robert Chichele.

[leaf 43, back]

[In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

As þat I walkid in the monthe of May
Besyde a groue in an heuy musynge,
Floures dyuerse I sy, right fressh and gay,
And briddes herde I eek lustyly synge,
þat to myn herte yaf a confortynge.
But euere o thoght me stang vn-to the herte,
þat dye I sholde / & hadde no knowynge
Whanne, ne whidir, I sholde hennes sterte.

In May I walkt in
a grove,

4

and thought I
knew not when I
should die.

8

[2]

Thynkyng thus / byfore me I say
A crois depeynted with a fair ymage.
I thoghte I nas but ashes and foul clay :
Lyf passith as a shadwe in euery age ;
And my body yeueth no better wage
Than synne / which the soule annoyeth sore.
I preyd god / mercy of myn outrage,
And shoop me / him to offende no more.

9

I saw a Crucifix,

12

and prayd God for
mercy.

16

[3]

On god to thynke / it yeueth a delyt,
Wel for to doon / & froo synne withdrawe ;
But for to putte a good deede in respyt /
Harmeth / swich delay is nat worth an hawe.
Wolde god, by my speeche and my sawe,
I mighte him and his modir do plesance,

17

20

[leaf 44]

Would God I
might please him!

	And, to my meryt, folwe goddes lawe, And of mercy, housbonde a purueance !	24
	[4]	
Mother of Iesus !	¹ Modir of Ihesu, (verray god and man, þat by his deeth / victorie of the feend gat,) Haue it in mynde / thow blessid womman, For the wo / which vn-to thyn herte sat	25 28
	In thy sones torment / forgeete it nat !	
Grant me grace to be virtuous !	Grante me grace / to vertu me take, ² Synne despyse, & for to hate al that That may thy sone & thee displesid make !	32
	[5]	
Jesus, with	Mercyful lord Ihesu / me heere, I praye, þat right vnkynde / & fals am vn-to thee ! I am right swich ; I may it nat withseye.	33
contrite heart I crave thy pity !	With salte teeres craue I thy pitee, And herte contryt / mercy haue on me þat am thy recreant caytif traitour ! By my dissertes, oghte I dampned be ; But ay thy mercy heetith me socour.	36 40
	[6]	
Lady, I trust by thy prayers to be saved.	Lady benigne / our souereyn refuyt ! Seur trust haue I, to han, by thy prayeere, Of strength / & confort, so vertuous fruyt,	41
[leaf 44, back]	That I shal sauf be, Crystes modir deere ! My soules ship, gouerne thow, & steere ! Let me nat slippe out of thy remembrance, Lest, whan þat I am rype vn-to my beere, The feend me assaille, & haue at the outrance.	44 48
	[7]	
Lord, I thank thee Who diedst for my guilt !	To thanke thee, lord / hyly holde I am, For my gilt / nat for thyn / þat woldest die, Who souffred euere swich a martirdam. Yit thy doeth gat of the feend the maistrie,	49 52

¹ This begins the alternate stanzas to the Virgin and Christ.² To betake myself to Virtue.

And þat, al kynde of man may testifie.

O ! blessid be thy loue charitable,

þat list so deere our synful soules bie,

To make vs sauf / wher we weren dampnable.

Blessed be Thy
love !

56

[8]

Now thy socour / o Heuenes Emperice,

Fro me, wrecche, torne thow nat thy face !

Ther as I deepe wrappid am in vice,

Gretter neede haue I / thyn help to purchase !

Vn-to the souerain leche, preye of grace,

þat he my wowndes / vouchesauf to cure,

So þat the feend my soule nat embrace,

Al thogh I haue agilt ouer mesure.

Empress of
Heaven, turn not
thy face from me !

57

60

64

[9]

Wel oghten we thee thanke, gracious lord,

þat thee haast humbled, for to been allied

To vs ! auctour of pees and of concord,

On the crois was thy skin in-to blood died !

Allas ! why haue I me to synne applied ?

Why is my soule encombrid so with synne ?

Lord, in al þat I haue me mis gyed,

Foryeue / & of my trespas wole I blynne.

65 Gracious Lord,

68 [leaf 45]

72 forgive me, and I
will stop my sin.

[10]

Lady / wardeyn of peple fro ruyne,

þat sauedest Theoffe and many mo !

Of thy grace, myn herte enlumyne !

For, as I trowe, & woot it wel also,

Thy might is me to wariashe of my wo.

Of thy benigne sone, mercy craue,

Of þat forueyed haue I, & mis go.

His wil is thyn / my soule keepe & saue !

73 Lady, illumine my
heart !

76

Crave mercy of
thy Son !

80

[11]

Lord Ihesu Cryst / I axe of thee pardoun !

I yilde me to thee, lord souereyn !

My gilt confesse I / lord / make vnioun

Betwixt thee & my soule / for in veyn

81 Lord Iesus,

84 confesse my guilt.
Unite my soul to
Thine !

	My tyme haue I despendid in certeyn. Some of the dropes of thy <i>precious</i> blood þat the crois made as weet as is the reyn, Despende on me, lord merciable & good !	88
	[12]	
Mother of Mercy, Sapphires !	Lady ! þat clept art 'modir of mercy,' Noble saphir / to me þat am ful lame Of vertu, and am ther-to enemy,	89
[leaf 46, back]	Thy welle of pitee, in thy sones name, Lete on me flowe / to pouрге my blame, Lest in to Despeir þat I slippe & falle !	92
I call to thee to keep me from blame.	For my seurtee to keepe me fro blame, Of pitee, mirour, I vn-to thee calle !	96
	[13]	
	Synne, þat is to euery vertu fo, Betwixt god & me / maad hath swich debat, þat my soule is dampnyd for euere mo,	97
Christ, I shall be damd unless	But if þat mercy / which hath maad thacat Of mannes soule, þat was violat By likerous lust & disobedience, For which our lord Ihesu was incarnat,	100
thou helpet me !	Me helpe make the feend resistance !	104
	[14]	
Lady, let not	Lady ! þat art of grace spryng & sours, Port in peril / solas in heuynesse ! Of thy wont bontee, keepe alway the cours !	105
the Fiend oppres me at death !	Lat nat the feend, at my deeth me oppresse ! Torne the crois to me, noble Princesse, Which vn-to euery soor is the triacle ! Thogh my dissert be naghit / of thy goodnesse, Ageyn the feendes wrenches, make obetacle !	108
	[15]	
Lord, I watch to gain thy mercy !	Lord, on thy grace & pitee / myn herte ay Awaitith / to purchace thy mercy.	113
[leaf 46]	Allas ! I caytif / wel I mourne may, Syn the feend serued often sythe haue y.	116

It reewith me / do with me graciously,
 For I purpose to stynte of my synnes.
 What ageyn thee / mis take hath my body,
 My soule keepe fro the feendes gynnes !

120 Keep me from the
 Devil's snares !

[16]

Blessid virgyne, ensample of al vertu,
 þat peere hast non / of wommanhode flour !
 For the loue of thy sone, our Lord Ihesu,
 Strengthe vs to doon him seruice & honour !
 Lady ! be mene vn-to our Sauueour,
 þat our soules þat the feend waytith ay
 To hente / & wolde of hem be possessour,
 Ne see hem nat in the vengeable day !

121 Blessed Virgin,

124 strengthen us to
 serve Christ !

128

[17]

The flesh / the world / & eek the feend my fo,
 My wittes alle han at hir retenance :
 They to my soule doon annoy & wo.
 For why, Lord, dreede I me of thy vengeance.
 With mercy, my soule in-to blisse enhance !
 Worthy marchant ! saue thy marchandie,
 Which þat thow boghtest with dethes penance !
 Lat nat the feend haue of vs the maistrie

129

132 Lord, lift my soul
 to blisse !

136

[18]

Excellent lady ! in thy thoght impresse
 How & why thy chyld souffrid his tormentes !
 Preye him to haue on vs swich tendrenesse,
 þat in the feendes net we be nat hent !
 At the day of his steerne iugement,
 Lat nat him leese þat he by deeth boghte !
 I woot wel / ther-to hath he no talent :
 Mynge him ther-on / for thee so to doon / oghte !

137 [leaf 46, back]

Lady, pray thy
 Child to saue us
 from the Devil's
 net !

140

144

[19]

Whan in a man, synne growith & rypith,
 The fruyt of it is ful of bittirnesse ;
 But penitence cleene away it wypith,
 And to the soule yeueth greet swetnesse.

145

148

O Christ the Judge, mix Mercy with thy Judgment!	O steerne Iuge / with thy rightwisnesse, Medle thy mercy / and shewe vs fauour! Vn-to our soules, maad to thy liknesse, Graunte pardoun of our stynkyng errour!	152
	[20]	
O Queen,	O glorious qweene / to the repentaunt pat art refuyt / socour and medecyne! Lat nat the foule feend make his ausaunt, pat he hath thee byreft any of thyne!	153 156
pray for us, and [leaf 47]	Thurgh thy prayers, thow thy sone enclyne His merciable grace / on vs to reyne! Be tendre of vs / o thow blissid virgyne!	
bring us to blisse!	For if thee list / we shuln to blisse atteyne.	160

Cest tout.

[End of the Phillipps MS.]

[XIX.]

[Fairfax MS. 16 (Bodl. Lib. about 1430-40), leaf 40.]

¶ *Litera Cupidinis, dei Amatoris,² directa
subditis suis amatoribus.¹*

[A.D. 1402]. [Hocelyffe (in *Stowe's hand*).]

[In 68 five-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*]

[1]

I, Cupid, whom gods, devils, and men obey,	¶ Cupido ³ / vn-to whos ⁴ comaundement the gentil kynredē / of goddis ⁵ an hy, ⁵ And pepill infernal / ben obedient, And mortel folke al / seruen besely, ⁶ The goddesse sone / Sythera soothly, ⁶ to al[le] thoo / that to our deyte greet my subjects. ben sugetes ⁷ / hertly gretying sende we!	1 5 7
--	---	-----------------------------

¹⁻¹ The Lettre of Cupide, god of Loue, B (Bodley MS. 638, leaf 38 bk.)
² *Amoris* T. (Tanner MS. 346, lf. 41). ³ Cypide B. ⁴ quhois S. (But few of
the after variations of spelling are given.) ⁵⁻⁵ onely S. (MS. Arch. Seld. B.
24, lf. 211 bk.) ⁶⁻⁶ of the . . . onely F, The goddesse Cithera soñ sothly S.
⁷ subditis S.

[2]

In general, we ¹wol[en] / that ye knowe,¹ 8 [leaf 40, back]
 that ladies of honour / and reuerence,
 and other gentil wymen / ²haven sowe²
³suche seed of³ compleynt / in our audience,
 of men ⁴that do hem⁴ / outrage and offence, 12
 that yt oure eeres greueth / for⁵ to here ;
 so pitouse is theeffecte / of this⁶ matere. 14

I tell you that
 gentlewomen
 have so com-
 plained to me of
 men's outrages
 on them,
 that my eares are
 grievd.

[3]

⁷Passyng al londes / on the lital⁷ Ile 15 Above all, in
 that cleped ys albyon⁸ / they most compleyn : England
⁹they seye, that there⁹ ys / croppe and rote of gile :
¹⁰soo konne tho men / dyasymule[n]¹⁰ and feyne¹¹ 19 men sham crying
 with stondyng dropes / ¹²on her eyen twayne,¹²
 When that her hertes / felith no distresse,
 to blynden women / wyth her doublenesse. 21 to deceive women.

[4]

¹³Her wordes spoken ben / so syghyngly,¹³ 22 They sigh,
 wyth so pitouse ¹⁴chere / and contynauce,¹⁴
 that euery wyght / that meneth tru[ē]ly,
 Demeth ¹⁵that they in hert / haue suche¹⁵ grevaunce.
 they sey, so importable / ys her penaunce, 26 and say they'll
 that but her lady / lust to schew hem grace. die if their ladies
 they ryght anoone / [mote]¹⁶ sterven in the place. 28 don't grant 'em
 favors,

[5]

"A, lady myn," they sey / "I yowe ensure, 29
¹⁷as doth¹⁷ me grace / and I shal ever be—
 while that my lyfe / may last[en]¹⁸ and endure—
 to yow as humble / and lowe in ech degre
 as possible ys / and kepe al thing¹⁹ secre 33 and secret as
 possible.

and that they'll
 be as humble

¹⁻¹ will that know 3e S. ²⁻² haue we S. ³⁻³ Herd the trew S. ⁴⁻⁴ that
 donne thamme S : F reads wymen, as this MS. ⁵ so S. ⁶ thare S. ⁷⁻⁷ And
 passid all ye boundis of ye S. ⁸ britanne S. ⁹⁻⁹ Thai seyn thare In S.
¹⁰⁻¹⁰ So can thir men dissymleñ S. ¹¹ seyn B. ¹²⁻¹² In thare eyne twayne
 S ; in, Speght 1602. ¹³⁻¹³ Thir wordis ben spoken generally S. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ a chere
 and countenance S. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ In hert that thai haue high S. ¹⁶ S inserts most ;
 Speght 'must.' ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ 3e do S. ¹⁸ lesten S. ¹⁹ thing A (Ashburnham MS) S,
 thing as F. S omits as.

ryght as youre seluen¹ lyst[e] / that I do ;
and elles myn² herte³ / mote brest a-two." 35

[6]

But it's hard to
know a man's
heart.

ful herd⁴ yt is⁴ to know / a manys hert ; 36
for outwarde may⁵ no man⁵ / the trouthe deme ;
⁶when worde out of his mouthe / may non astert,⁶
but⁷ yt by reson⁸ semed / euery wight to⁷ queme ;
⁸so is hit seyde⁸ of hert / as hit wolde seme. 40

Women are
deceivd by false
appearance.

O⁹ feythful woman / ful of¹⁰ Innocence,
thou arte deceyved / be fals apparence ! 42

[7]

Women believe
men, and grant
'em favours to
save their lives.

¹¹By processe¹² moveth / oft woman¹² pite : 43
wenyng al¹³ thing were / as [bat] thise¹⁴ men¹⁴ sey,
they graunte hem grace / of hir benignite,
¹⁵for that men shulde nat / for her sake¹⁵ dey ;
and with good hert[e] / set hem in the wey 47
of blesful loue / kepe yt yf they¹⁶ konne :
thus other while¹⁷ women¹⁷ beth y-wonne. 49

[8]

And when the
man has possession
of the woman,

And whann this man / the¹⁸ pot hath be¹⁸ the stele, 50
and fully is / in his possessyon,
with that woman / kepeth he not¹⁹ to dele

he runs after any
other in the town,

²⁰after, yif he may / fynde[n]²⁰ in the toвне
any woman / his blynde affeccion 54

Curse him !

On²¹ to bestowe[n] / euel²² mote he preve !
a man, for al his²³ othes / is herde to leve !²³ 56

[9]

And for that euery fals man / hath a make, 57
(as vn-to euery wight / is lyght to knowe,)

¹ selfe Sp., self F, seluen S. ² that myn S. ³ herte Sp., hert F. ⁴⁻⁶ Is It S. ⁵⁻⁶ non S. ⁶⁻⁸ Quhan word may non out of his mouth stert S. ⁷⁻⁷ it be resoun any wicht shuld S. ⁸⁻⁸ So It is S. B. ⁹ A S. ¹⁰ of Sp., om. F. ¹¹ Stanzas 7-16. These verses are omitted in the Digby MS. 181. ¹²⁻¹² womenh movit of S, of T also. ¹³ that all S. ¹⁴ om. S. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ That they schuld not for thare loue S. ¹⁶ he F, they S, ye F. ¹⁷ This othir quhilis S, And thus o. w. F. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ the pot hath by A S, penne F. ¹⁹ not S, no more F. ²⁰⁻²⁰ After yat . . funden S. ²¹ On A, vn F. ²² foule S. ²³⁻²³ oth . . leue A S, beleue F.

when this traytoure / this woman hath for-sake,
 he ¹fast[e] spedeth him¹ / vn-to his felowe:
 til he be there / his hert ys on a lowe;
 hys fals deceyt / ²[ne] may him not² suffise,
 but of hys treson / telleth al³ the wise.⁴

61 And goes and
tells his mates

63 all about it.

[10]

Ys this a faire avaunte / is this honoure?
 a man him silfe ⁵accuse / thus, and diffame?⁵
⁶[Now] ys it good / confesse him⁶ / a traytoure,
 and bringe a woman / to [a]⁷ sclaudrouse name,
 and tel⁸ how he hir body / hathe do shame?
 No worshippe ⁹may he thus / to him⁹ conquere,
¹⁰but grete esclaundre¹⁰ / vn-to him and here!

64 Is this honour?

a man to confesse
he's a traitor,
and tell how he's
shamed a woman?

68

70

[11]

¹¹[Vn] To hir ¹²name yet / was¹² yt no reпре,
 for, al for vertu / was [it]¹³ that she wrought;
 but he that brewed hath¹⁴ / al this myschefe,
 that spake so faire / and falsly¹⁵ inward thoght,¹⁶
 his be the sclaudre / as yt be reson oght;
 and vn-to hir / [a] thank¹⁷ perpetuel,
 that in a nede¹⁸ / ¹⁹helpe can¹⁹ so wel!

71 The woman's not
to be blamed,

75 but the man is.

77

[12]

²⁰Al-thogh of men, thorgh sleight / and sotilte,²⁰
 a sely symple / and Innocent²¹ woman
²²betrayed ys / no wondre, sith the²² cyte
 of Troye / (as [pat] the storye telle²³ can)
 be-trayed was / thorgh the²⁴ disceyt of man,

78 No wonder that
an innocent
woman is
betrayd by man,

82 for Troy was,

¹⁻¹ spedith him fast S (spedeth = sped'th). ²⁻² ne / may nat him S. ³ at S.
⁴ gwyce T. ⁵⁻⁵ accuseñ & defame S. ⁶⁻⁶ Now Is It good confesse him S, ys
 it g. c. h. selfe F. ⁷ In a S, B om. ⁸ say S. ⁹⁻⁹ thus he may him self S.
¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Bot gett a slander S, disclaunder Sp. T. ¹¹ St. 11-16 are st. 1 to 6 in the
 Digby MS. ¹²⁻¹² name 3hit is D, nay yet was F, nay B T, na S. ¹³ om. T.
¹⁴ om. S. ¹⁵ so falsly D. ¹⁶ wrot S. ¹⁷ a thank S. ¹⁸ nede D, rede F, in such
 a need Sp. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ can helpeñ meñ S. ²⁰⁻²⁰ Allthoug that meñ by slicht &
 subtiltee S, of men Is, men F, through mens Sp. ²¹ Ignorant A S. ²²⁻²² Be-
 traye no wonder Is, señ ye S. ²³ tel F D, tell Sp., tellen S. ²⁴ om. D.

and set on¹ fire / and [al] dovn² ouer-throwe,
and destroyd. and fynaly dystroyed / as men knowe. 84

[13]

³Betraied men not³ / Citees⁴ grete, and kynges! 85
what wyght is yt⁵ / that kan shape remedye⁶
⁷ayens these falsely / purposed⁷ thinges?
who can the crafte / suche craftes⁸ to espye,⁹
Men are ever but ¹⁰man, whos wytte / is euer redy¹⁰ to aplye 89
ready for falsity; to¹¹ thyng that ¹²sovneth / in-to [hy]¹² falshede?
Women, beth ware / of ¹³mennys sleight,¹³ I rede! 91

[14]

And furthermore / han these¹⁴ men in vsage, 92
that,¹⁵ where [as] ¹⁶they / not lykly ben¹⁷ to¹⁶ spede,
and when they've no chance them-
selves, they see a
man to court a
woman for them. suche as [they]¹⁸ ben / with a double visage
they procuren¹⁹ / for to pursw her nede;
he prayeth him, in his cause / to procede, 96
and largely ²⁰guerdoneth / he his²⁰ trauallye:
lytell wote²¹ wommen / how men hem²² assayle! 98

[15]

Another wretch²¹ / vnto his felowe seythe: 99
tell a man in love, that
'thow fissent fayre / she that the hath fired,
ys fals and²³ inconstant / and hath no feythe!
she, ²⁴for the rode of folke / ys so desired,²⁴
his girl is hired
daily by others, and²⁵ as an hors / fro day to day ys hired, 103
that when thou twynnest / fro hir companye,
another cometh / and blered ys thyn ye! 105

[16]

'Now prikke on¹ fast / and ride thy iourney 106
and when his
beck's turnd while thou art there / for she, behinde thy bake,

¹ a S. ² all S Sp. ³⁻³ men D, Betray not men B F S T. ⁴ realmes S. ⁵ hit B, om. S. ⁶ a r. S. ⁷⁻⁷ Agayne falsely porposed T, these falsly Sp., falsly D, false hid S. ⁸ castes S. ⁹ aspie D, espy Sp., spy F. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ y^t is quho redy ay Is S. ¹¹ In S. ¹²⁻¹² sowning is to Sp., is sownynge T, vnto hie S, into hy A. ¹³⁻¹³ false men Sp. ¹⁴ othir S. ¹⁵ T inserts as, where as A. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ quhare thai beñ not likly for to S. ¹⁷ are D. ¹⁸ as D, as they B F Sp., where as T, as that S. ¹⁹ S inserts men. ²⁰⁻²⁰ to guerdoun thair S. ²¹ know S. ²² men hem D Sp., men F. ²³ om. S. ²⁴⁻²⁴ for hir fude of folk Is so disirit S, . . desired F. ²⁵ That S.

so lyberal ys / she wol no wyght¹ with-sey,
 but smertly of another / take a snake;²
 for thus thes wommen / faren, al the pake; 110
 who so hem trusteth / hanged mot he be!
 ay³ they desyren chaunge / and nouelte!⁴ 112

she'll take a
 snake with
 some one else,

as women like
 change.

[17]

⁴Wherof procedeth this / but of envye? 113
 for he him selfe / hyre ne wynne⁵ may,
 he speketh hir reprehe / and vileyny[e],
 as mannes blabbyng⁶ tong / ys wont alway:
 thus dyuers men / ful ⁷often make⁷ assay 117
 for to ⁸distourben folke / in sondry⁸ wyse,
 for they may not / acheven⁹ her empryse. 119

When a man can't
 win a woman,
 he abuses her.

[18]

fful many a man¹⁰ ¹¹eke / wolde¹¹ for no good, 120
 (that hath ¹²in loue / his tyme¹² spent and vsed,)
 Men wyste ¹³his lady,¹³ his axyng¹⁴ withstood,
 and¹⁵ that he ¹⁶were / of hyr pleylnly¹⁶ refused, 123
 or wast and¹⁷ ¹⁸veyn, wer / al that he had¹⁸ mused;
 wherfore he can / no better¹⁹ remedye,
 but on²⁰ his lady / shapith him to lye. 126

Tho' everyone
 knows his lady
 refused him,

he begins to lie
 about her.

[19]

'Euery womman,' he seyth / 'ys lyght to gete, 127
 (kan noon sey nay) / if she be wel I-soght²¹
 who so may ²²han leyser²² / with her²³ to trete,

He says any
 woman can be
 got if she's well
 courted.

¹ nothing Sp. ² smacks Sp. ³ Euer Sp. ⁴ The collations markt D are from the Digby MS. 181, in the Bodleian Library. This MS. begins the poem with stanzas 11—16 of the Ashburn. version. It then has stanzas 7—16 the same as 17—26 here, then leaves out stanzas 7—10, then takes as its stanzas 17—26 the Ashb. 37-9, 50-6, and after that runs with the Fairfax, its stanzas 37—58 corresponding with Fairfax 47—68. See p. 92 below. ⁵ wennen S. ⁶ blabbyng D Sp., babbyng St. B, labbing S T. ⁷⁻⁷ of will mak S. ⁸⁻⁸ distrouble folk on sunder S: distourble T. ⁹ haue D, obtaine Sp. ¹⁰ Many one Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ wolde eke D, wald eke S. ¹²⁻¹² his tyme in love D. ¹³⁻¹³ that sithe S. ¹⁴ askyng' D. ¹⁵ Ere Sp. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ war planly of hir S. ¹⁷ or S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ vayn att that he had D A, . . . hath F. ¹⁹ none other Sp. ²⁰ onely T. ²¹ sought D. ²²⁻²² leiser haue D, leiser haue Sp., leyser haue T. ²³ thame S.

of his purpose / ne¹ shal he faile noght,
 but he on² maddying² / be so depe ybrought, 131
 that he³ shende al / with open homelynesse,⁴
⁵that louen wymmen / nat as⁵ that, I gease.' 133

[20]

Gentlemen should
 arm in defence of
 women.

To sclauder women / thus, what may profyte? 134
 too gentils⁶ namely / that ⁷hem armen sholde,⁷
 and in⁸ defence of wommen / hem delyte,
⁹as that⁹ the ordre / of gentillesse¹⁰ wolde :
 yf that a man / lyst gentil to be holde, 138
 he ¹¹moot flee al¹¹ that / ther-to ys contrarye :
 a sclaudryng¹² tong / is his grete aduersarye.¹³ 140

[21]

Great talkers gab
 nonsense.

A foule thing¹⁴ ys / of tonge to be lyght; 141
 for who so mychel¹⁵ clappeth¹⁶ / gabbeth ofte.
 the tonge of men¹⁷ so ¹⁸swyft ys / and so¹⁸ wyght,
 that whan it is areysed / vp on¹⁹ lofte,
 reson²⁰ yt seweth¹⁹ / so slowly and softe, 145
 that it²⁰ him neuer / ouer-take may :
 lord ! so thise men / beth trusty in asay ! 147

[22]

Tho' one woman
 is inconstant

and deceitful,

It doesn't follow
 that all are.

Al-be-hyt that man²¹ fynde / o²² woman²² nyce, 148
 In-constant, recheles / or varriable,
²³Deynouse, or proude²³ / fulfilled of malice,
 Wythouten²⁴ feyth or love / and deceyvable,
²⁵aly, queynt, and fals²⁵ / in al vnthrift²⁶ coupable, 152
 Wikked, and feers / and²⁷ ful of cruelte,
 yt foloweth nat²⁸ / that swich²⁹, al wommen be. 154

¹ om. D. ² madnesse Sp. ³ om. S. ⁴ humylnes S. ⁵⁻⁵ And that lone
 nothing women as S, love D., they doten as Sp., nat as D. ⁶ To gentillesse Sp.
⁷⁻⁷ thame honour schald S. ⁸ om. D, Sp. puts 'and' after 'women.' ⁹⁻⁹ And
 S. ¹⁰ gentillesse D T. ¹¹⁻¹¹ must all eschewe Sp. ¹² sclaudrons Sp., S.
¹³ MS. aduerayte. ¹⁴ vice Sp., foule wise of t. S. ¹⁵ moche D. ¹⁶ chappith and
 S. ¹⁷ man S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ swight and so D, swyft ys / and is F. ¹⁹ is shewed Sp.,
 schewit S. ²⁰ it D, yf F. ²¹ men D. ²² one Sp. ²³⁻²³ Sclee queynt and false
 S, Deignous Sp. ²⁴ With out D. ²⁵⁻²⁵ Deynouse and proud S. ²⁶ vntrust Sp.,
 vntriste comparable B. ²⁷ om. S, and reads fulfillit. ²⁸ not D. ²⁹ suche D.

[23]

- When that ¹the high god¹ / Aungels formed had, 155
 a-monge hem al[le] / wheither ther were noon
 that founden was / malicious and bad ? Of the Angels,
wasn't one bad ?
 Yis ! al men woot / that ther was many oon), Yes.
 that for hir pride / fil² from heven anoon : 159
³shul men therfore³ / al Aungels, proude name ? Are all angels
therefore proud ?
 Nay ! he that that⁴ susteneth / is to blame. 161

[24]

- Of twelve apostels, oon / a traytour was : 162 Of the Apostles,
one was a traitor,
but the rest were
true.
 the remenant, yit / good[e] were and triwe.
 than⁵, yf it happe / men fynde[n], per caas,⁶
 oo⁷ womman fals / swich⁸ is good for⁹ to eschiwe,
 and deme nat¹⁰ that they¹¹ / ben al[le] vntrewe ! 166 So of women.
 I se¹² wel / mennes owne¹³ fals[e]nesse,
 hem causeth wommen / for to trusten lesse. 168

[25]

- ¹⁴O ! euery man ought¹⁴ haue / an herte tendre 169 Every man ought
to think women
honourable.
 vn-to¹⁵ woman / and deme hir honourable,
 wheither his shap be / outhur thikke or slender,¹⁶
 or he be badde or good / this¹⁷ ys no fable.
 euery man woot / that witte hath resonable, 173 He's the son of
one.
 that of a woman / he descended¹⁸ ys :
 than ys yt shame, of hir / to speke amys ! 175 It's a shame to
speak ill of her.

[26]

- A wikked tre, gode frute / may noon forth bryng ; 176
 for swiche¹⁹ the frute ys / as that is the tre. As the tree, so
is the fruit.
 take hede of whom / thou took thy bygynnyng !
 lat thy moder / be Merour vnto the !
 honure hir / yf thou wolt honoured be ! 180 Honour your
Mother !

¹⁻³ god the his D. ³ fett D. ²⁻³ Shuld me for them yeue Sp. ⁴ that that D, that F. ⁵ So Sp. ⁶ parcas D. ⁷ A D. ⁸ suche D, a soch good is Sp. ⁹ om. B S T. ¹⁰ not D. ¹¹ all S. ¹² S inserts full. ¹³ owne Sp., oone F. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Euery ought to D. ¹⁵ vnto a Sp. ¹⁶ sklendre B, sklendir D. ¹⁷ it Sp. ¹⁸ destended F, discentit S, descended Sp. ¹⁹ suche D.

Dispise thou hir nat / in no manere,
Lest that ther-by / thy wikkydnesse appere ! 182

[27]

It's a bad bird
that fouls its
own nest.

An olde proverbe / seyde ys in englyssh : 183
men seyn 'that brid or foule / ys dyshonest,
what that he¹ be / and holden ful² chirlyssh,
that veeth to defoule / his ovne neste.'

Men shouldn't
abuse women.

men, to say wel of wymen / ³yt is³ best, 187
and ⁴nat to displeen hem / ne deprauē,⁴
yf that ⁵they wol hir⁵ honour / kepe and⁶ saue. 189

[28]

Women say that
Clerks write
books against
em,

These ladyes eke⁷ / ⁸compleynen hem on⁸ clerkes, 190
that ⁹they han made bokes / of hir diffame,
In which ¹⁰dispisen they / womman[es]¹⁰ werkes,
and speken of hem / grete reпреf and shame,
and causeles given¹¹ hem / a wikked name : 194
thus they dyspysed ben / on euery syde,
¹²and sclaudred,¹² and bylowen¹³ / on ful wyde. 196

[29]

on how they
betrayd David,
Solomon, &c.,

Tho sory bokes / maken mensyon 197
how they betrayden¹⁴ / in especial,¹⁵
adam, dauid, sampson / and salamon,
and many oon mo / ¹⁶who may rehersen al¹⁶
the treson / that they haue done ¹⁷and [ay] shal !¹⁷ 201
¹⁸the world hir malice / may not comprehende : ¹⁸
¹⁹as that theys¹⁹ clerkes seyn / yt hath noon ende. 203

[30]

Ovid, in his
Remedy of Love,
abused women,
and was a fool for
doing it.

Ouyde in his boke²⁰ / called 'remedye 204
of lous' / grete reпреf of wommen writeth ;
wherin, I trowe, he dide / grete folye,

¹ that he D Sp., he F. ² for S. ³⁻⁵ Is ye S, is the D. ⁴⁻⁶ deprise thame
nor jit d. S, not for to dispysē D B T. ⁷⁻⁸ 3e wald 3our S. ⁹ or Sp. ¹⁰ euer Sp.
⁸⁻⁹ compleen thame of S, compleyn D. ¹⁰ That that D. ¹¹⁻¹² they dispise
women and her Sp. ¹³ yeve D. ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ Disclaundred Sp. ¹⁶ blown S, belyed T.
¹⁷ betrayed D, haue betrayed S. ¹⁸ especyally D, especial Sp., special F, speciall
S. ¹⁹⁻²⁰ quho rehersen schall S. ²¹⁻²² and all S. ²³⁻²⁴ The world may nat yer
malice c. S : wordle D, worde T. ²⁵⁻²⁶ And that ve S. ²⁷ bokis B.

and euery wyght / that ¹in such case delyteth.¹
 a clerkys custome ys / whan he endyteth 208 Clerks always do
say women are
naughty, tho they
know it isn't true.
 of women, be yt prose / or² ryme, or vers,
³seye they³ ben wikke / al knowe he the revers. 210

[31]

And that boke, scolers / lerne in ⁴hir chyldehede,⁴ 211
 for they of women / ⁵be war sholde⁵ in age,
 and for to ⁶louen hem / euer ben⁶ in drede,
 syn⁷ to deceyve / is set al hire⁸ corage.
 they seyn, ⁹perylle / to cast, ys avauntage,⁹ 215
¹⁰and namely suche¹⁰ / as men ¹¹han in be wrapped,¹¹
 for many a man by woman¹² / hath myshapped.¹³ 217

[32]

¹⁴No charge, whatso / thyse clerkys¹⁴ seyn : 218 I don't care what
writers say
 of al hir wrong wryting / I do no cure ;
 al hir trauayle and labour¹⁵ / ys in veyn,
 For, betwex me / and my lady¹⁶ nature,
 shal nat¹⁷ be suffred / while the world may dure, 222
 these¹⁸ clerkys / by ¹⁹hir cruel¹⁹ tyranie,
²⁰thus vpon²⁰ wymmen / kythen hir maystrie. 224 against women.

[33]

Whylom ful mony²¹ of hem²² / wer in my cheyne 225 Many of 'em were
lovers once, but
have grown
useless.
 y-tyed²³ / and now, what for vnweldy age,
 and for vnlust, may not / to love atteyne,²⁴
 and seyn, that love ys / but werray²⁵ dotage.
²⁶thus, for that they hem selfe²⁶ / lakken corage, 229
 they folke exciten²⁷ / by hir wykked sawes,
 for to rebelle²⁸ agayn²⁹ me / and my lawes. 231

¹⁻¹ on such delitteth S. ² om. D B. ³⁻³ To seye ye S. ⁴⁻⁴ ther childhode D, S om. hir ⁵⁻⁵ schuld be war S. ⁶⁻⁶ loue thame euir be S, love D. ⁷ Siuch S. ⁸ ther D. ⁹⁻⁹ of perel men should cast thauauntage Sp., tast D. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Namely of such Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ haue in be wrappes B, ben I-wrapped D, be-wrapped Sp., be-wrappes F. ¹² women D S. ¹³ myshapped D Sp., myshappes F B. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Now charge is quhat so thir clerkis S, charge is Sp., howso this B. ¹⁵ labour and tr. Sp. S. ¹⁶ om. S. ¹⁷ not D, nat A S T, noon F. ¹⁸ Thus these Sp. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ outrageous A. ²⁰⁻²⁰ on selie Sp. ²¹ many D, meny B. ²² them D. ²³ ycheined S. ²⁴ susteyne S. ²⁵ verry D, veray S. ²⁶⁻²⁶ Thus for thame seluen S, filf D. ²⁷ excerses S. ²⁸ reule S. ²⁹ ayens D.

[34]

Yet, those who
blame women
most, But mawgre hem / that blamen wommen most, 232
suche is¹ the force / of myn impressyon,
that ²sodenly / I felle² can hir bost,
and al hir wrong / ymagynacion);
I can make 'em
love the foulest
slut yt shal not ben / in her elleccion, 236
the foulest slutte / of al a³ toвне refuse,⁴
yf that me lyst⁵ / for al that they can muse; 238

[35]

But hir in hert / as brenyngly desire, 239
as thogh she were / a duchesse or a quene;
so can I folkes hertys / set on fire,
and as me list hem⁶ sende / Ioy or tene.
they that to wommen / ⁷ben ywhett⁷ so kene, 243
my sharp[e] ⁸persyng strokes / how they⁸ smyte,
shul fele, and knowe / and how ⁹they kerve⁹ and byte.

[36]

Perdee,¹⁰ this grete¹¹ clerke / this sotil Ouyde, 246
and ¹²mony another / han¹² deceyved be
of women) / as yt knowen ys ful wyde;
Wote no man¹³ more / and that is grete deynte,
so excellent a clerk / as that was he, 250
and other mo that koude / so¹⁴ wel preche,
abusers, were
trickt by women. betrapped wer / for aght¹⁵ they coude teche. 252

[37]

And trusteth wel / that yt¹⁶ is no mervaylle, 253
ffor women ¹⁷knywen / pleyuly¹⁷ hir entent;
they wiste how sotly / they koude assayle
hem, and ¹⁸what falshode / they in hert[e]¹⁸ ment;
and ¹⁹this clerkys / they¹⁹ in hir daunger hent; 257

¹ is the D Sp., is F. ²⁻³ sotelly y felle T. ³ in all the Sp., þe B. ⁴ to refuse B. ⁵ lust D. ⁶ sem T. ⁷⁻⁷ yhurt S. ⁸⁻⁸ strokis persyng quho 3e S. ⁹⁻⁹ 3e berri S. ¹⁰ Parde D. ¹¹ om. Sp. ¹²⁻¹² many D, m. oñe othir have S. ¹³ Wote no mañ S, What no men F. ¹⁴ full Sp. ¹⁵ ought D. ¹⁶ ys F, it Sp. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ knewe full p. S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ y¹ . . . thair hert S. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ thus they clerkes Sp., have for they S.

with oo venym / another was distroyed ;
and thus thise clerkes / often were anoyed. 259

[38]

These ladyes ne thise gentils / neuerthelesse, 260 Ladies didn't do
were noon of thoo / that wroghten in this wysse ;¹ this, but only
but swyche² filthes³ / as weren vertulesse, queana.
they quydden thus / this olde clerkis wisse ;⁴
To⁵ clerkis, ⁶for-thy, lesse⁶ may⁷ suffyse 264 Clerks should not
than to deprave⁸ wommen / generally ; defame women.
for worahippe shul they gete / noon therby. 266

[39]

If that thise men / that louers hem pretende, 267 If these pretended
to women weren ⁹feythfull / good⁹ and trewe, lovers were true
and dreden hem / to deceyven or offende, to women,
women, to loue hem / wolde nat eschewe ; women would
but euery day hath man / an herte¹⁰ newe : 271 love them.
yt, vpon oon, abide / can no while.
what fors ys it / swich a wight to be-gile ? 273

[40]

Men beren eke this women / vpon honde, 274 Men say too that
that lyghtly / and wyth-outen¹¹ any peyne, any man can win
they ¹²wonne ben / they can¹² no wyght¹² withstonde, women,
that his disease / list to hem compleyne : 277
¹³they been so freel / they mowe hem nat refreyne ;¹³ so frail are they.
but who so lyketh / may hem lyghtly haue,
so ben hir hertys / esy in to graue.¹⁴ 280

[41]

To¹⁵ maister Iohn de Meun / as I suppose, 281 It was a nasty
Than¹⁶ yt was / a lewde occupacion job of Jean de
In makynge of the Romance / of the Rose, Meun,

¹ wise Sp. ² suche D. ³ fillokes S. ⁴ wise Sp. ⁵ To Sp., The F D. ⁶⁻⁸ ffor they lasse D. ⁷ might Sp. ⁸ disprauē Sp. ⁹⁻¹⁰ g. f. T. ¹⁰ hert F D, hurte Sp. ¹¹ wyth out D, without eny B. ¹²⁻¹³ women beñ that cañ S. ¹³⁻¹⁵ They be so fre T, not D B, Thai haue suich mercj / they may no mañ wita-seyne S. ¹⁴ graue D Sp., craue F. ¹⁵ To D Sp., I F. ¹⁶ Then D Sp., an F.

in his *Romance of the Rose*, to devise
so many tricks to
deceive a poor
girl.

so many a sly / ymaginacion
and perils¹ / for to rollen² vp and doun, 285
so longe processe / so many a slye cautele,
for to deceyve / a sely damesele ! 287

[42]

Nat³ can I ⁴seen / ne⁴ my wytte comprehende, 288
that art and peyn⁵ / and sotilte [s]holde⁶ faylle
for to conquere / and sone make an ende,
⁷whan man a feble place / shal⁷ assaylle,
and ⁸soone also⁸ / to venquyssh a bataylle, 292
of whiche no wyght / dar maken⁹ resistance,
Ne hert hath noon / to stonden¹⁰ at¹⁰ defence ; 294

[43]

But if it takes
so much trouble
to deceive a
woman,
surely she's more
constant than
some clerks say.

Than ¹¹yt moot folowen¹¹ / of necessite, 295
syn¹² art asketh / so grete engyn and peyne
a woman ¹³to dysceve / what she¹³ be
of constance¹⁴ / they ben¹⁵ not so bareyne
¹⁶as that somme of thise / sotil clerkys feyne ; ¹⁶ 299
but they ben / ¹⁷as that wommen oghten be,¹⁷
sad / constant / and fulfilled of pite.¹⁸ 301

[44]

See what a friend
Medea was to the
false Jason,

How frendely was / Medea to Iason 302
in the¹⁹ conquering / of the flees²⁰ of golde !
how falsly quyt he / hir affeccion,
by whom victorie he gate / as he hath²¹ wolde !
how may this man, for shame / be²² so bolde 306
to falsen²³ hir / that from his dethe and shame
him kept,²⁴ and gat him / so grete pris and name ! 308

¹ perelous T, perillis S. ² roth D. ³ Not D. ⁴⁻⁴ say ne Sp. S, ne in F. ⁵ part S. ⁶ shulde T, schuld S. ⁷⁻⁷ When D, Quen a man schall a f. p. S. ⁸ also son S. ⁹ may make Sp. ¹⁰ to make any Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ mote It falow S, folowe D. ¹² sich S, om. so. ¹³⁻¹³ for to Dissaue quho S : what so Sp. ¹⁴ confiaunce B, constaunte S. ¹⁵ be they Sp. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ As ar sum men Or othir subtile clerkes S. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ richt as Women ought to be S, ought to D. ¹⁸ bountee S. ¹⁹ the grete D, the om. S. ²⁰ flees D, flece Sp., flee F, flesse S. ²¹ haue D, S om. hath. ²² durst be D. ²³ flaylen D T. ²⁴ helped, om. him, a priss S.

[45]

- Of troye also / the traytour¹ Eneas, 309 and Dido to the
 the feythles wrechch / how hath he him for-swore² faithless wretch
 to dido, that queen / of Cartage was, Eneas.
 that him releved / of his ³smertys sore!³
 what gentillesse⁴ myght she / han doon more 313
 than⁵ she with hert vnfeyned / to hym kydde?
 and what myschefe⁶ to hir / ther-of⁶ betydde! 315

[46]

- In my legende of Martres⁷ / men may⁸ fynde 316 In my *Legend of*
 (who so⁹ that lyketh therin / for¹⁰ to rede,) *Martysse* you may
 that oothe in no¹¹ behest / ¹²may no man bynde;¹² see that oathe can
 of repreuable shame / han they no drede; bind no man,
 In mannes hert[e] / trouthe hath no¹³ stede; 320
 the soyl ys noght / ther may no trouthe growe!
 to womman namely / yt is nat un-knowe.¹⁴ 322 as women know.

[47]

- Clerkes seyn also / 'ther is no malice 323 Clerks say there's
 vnto a¹⁵ womans / crabbed wykkydnesse!' no naughtiness
 O woman! how shalt thou¹⁶ / thy self chevice, like a woman's.
¹⁷syn men of¹⁷ the / so ¹⁸muchel harme wytnesse!¹⁸
 No fors! doo forth / takē¹⁹ no²⁰ heuynesse! 327
 kepē thyn ownē / ²¹what men clappe²¹ or crake!
 and somme of hem shul smert / I vndertake! 329

[48]

- 'Malice' of women / what is yt to drede? 330 But women's
 they sle no men / dystroyen²² no citees! naughtiness
²³they not oppresen folke / ne over-lede,²³

¹ Duke D. ² forfare S. ³⁻³ hertys S. ⁴ gentilnesse D. ⁵ Than D, That
 F B. ⁶⁻⁶ thare-of to hir S. ⁷ Cupid's or Chaucer's 'Legend of Good Women'
 [Skeat]. Speght wrongly reads 'natures.' ⁸ may men D T. ⁹ om. D. ¹⁰ om.
 D. ¹¹ othe ne Sp. S T. ¹²⁻¹² men may finde S. ¹³ neur S. ¹⁴ not vmk[n]owe
 D. ¹⁵ om. D. ¹⁶ shaltow T. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ Sith D, Sich men to S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ moche harin
 alle gois S; moche D, soch (for 'so muchel') Sp. ¹⁹ and take S. ²⁰ noon D.
 Speght's line is 'Beth ware, women, of her fikelness.' ²¹⁻²¹ quhat so men
 clepe S. ²² ne dystroy S. ²³⁻²³ ne not oppresses folk In no seyn led S.

doesn't hurt
kingdoms or set
houses on fire.

betray Empires / ¹Remes ne ducheas,¹
ne men² bereve hir landes / ne hir Mees,^{2 3} 334
empoysone folkys / ne houses set on fire,
ne false contractes / maken for non⁴ hire ! 336

[49]

Women have, as
a rule, trust, love
and good morale.

Trust, perfyte loue / and entere⁵ charyte, 337
fervent⁶ wyl / and entenlented⁷ corage
⁸be thewes⁸ good / as ⁹yt sytt⁹ wel to be,
han women ay¹⁰ / of custome and vsage ;
and wel they kan / a¹¹ mannes yre aswage 341
with soft[e] wordes / discreet¹² and benigne :
what they be¹³ Inward / sheweth¹⁴ outwarde sygne.

[50]

Women's hearts
are devout and
amiable.

Womman[ne]s herte / vn-to no cruelte 344
enclyned ys / but they ben charitable,
pitouse, devoute / ful of humylite,
shamefaste,¹⁵ debonarie¹⁶ / and amyable,
Dredful / and of¹⁷ hir wordes mesurable : 348
what woman thise¹⁸ / hath not, perauenture,
¹⁹Ne folweth nat¹⁹ / the wey of hir nature. 350

(If otherwise,
they're un-
natural.)

[51]

Men say that Eve
made all folk
lose their liberty.

Men seyn, 'oure first[e] moder / natheles, 351
made al man-kynde / lese²⁰ his lyberte,
and naked yt²¹ of Ioy[e] / douteles ;
²²ffor goddis hestes / disobeyed she,²²
whan she presumed / tasten of a²³ tre 355
wichch²⁴ god forbad / that she ne ete of sholde ;
²⁵and nade the deuel ben / namore she wolde.'²⁵ 357

1-3 realmis ne Duchess S, Duchesses D. 2-2 bireven D, bereuen landes nor
thar socs S. 2 Messuages, houses and lands, holdings. See *Catholicon*. 4 no D.
5 cuir S. 6 frauard S. 7 entalented D B. 8-9 To D, All Sp., To thewis S B T.
9-9 sittith D Sp. 10 euer Sp. 11 they conne Sp. 12 swete D S. 13 ben D.
14 they shew Sp. 15 Schamefull S. 16 debonayr D. 17 and of D Sp., of F.
18 that S. 19-19 Followeth not Sp. 20 lose D, to lese S. 21 him S. 22-23 for that
... hest disobeyt sche S, heste T. 23 the D Sp. B T. 24 That Sp. 25-25 But
jit ye send that agayn stodeñ wold S, ne wolde F.

[52]

The enviouſe ſuellyng / that the fend, our fo, 358
 had vnto man in herte¹ / for his welthe,
 ſent a ſerpent / and made hir for to go
 to deceyve Eve / and thus was mannes helthe²
 beraft³ him by the fende / ryght³ in a ſtelthe, 362
 the woman⁴ noght knowyng⁴ / of the⁵ deceyt :
 gode wote, ful⁶ fer was yt / from⁶ hir conceyt. 364

But it was the
 Devil who did
 this.

[53]

Wherefore I ſey⁷ this / good[e] woman) Eve, 365
 our fader Adam / ne deceyved noght.
 ther may no man / for a deceyt yt preve
 proprely, but yf that ſhe / in hir thought
 had it compaſſed⁸ firſt / ⁹er yt was⁹ wrought ; 369
 and for ſwiche was nat hir¹⁰ / impreſſyon,¹¹
 Men¹² calle / yt may,¹² no deceyt¹³ by reſon). 371

Eve didn't
 deceive Adam.

[54]

No¹⁴ wyght deceyveth / but he yt¹⁵ purpoſe ; 372
 the fende¹⁶ this deceyt caſt / and nothing¹⁶ ſhe ;
 than ys yt wronge / to demen or ſuppoſe
 that ſhe ſholde of this¹⁷ harme / the cauſe be.
 witeth the fende / and his¹⁸ be the¹⁸ Mawgre, 376
 and for excuſed / haue¹⁹ hir Innocence,
 ſauf oonly that ſhe / brecche²⁰ obedyence. 378

The Devil did.

Blame him.

[55]

And touching that²¹ / ful fewe men ther ben— 379
 Vnnethes²² any / dar I ſaufly ſeye—
 fro day to day / as²³ that men now²³ wel ſeen,
 but that²⁴ the heſt / of god they dysobeye :
 haue this in mynde / ſires,²⁵ I yow preye ; 383

Nearly every man
 daily

disobeys God.

¹ harte Sp., hert F D. ² wealth Sp. ³⁻⁵ S om. him and reads and ry⁴: right even) D, by the fende Sp. ⁶⁻⁸ kn. no⁷ S. ⁹ that Sp. ¹⁰⁻¹² fer It was from S. ¹³ S inserts that. ¹⁴ purpoſit S. ¹⁵⁻¹⁷ or ſhe it Sp. ¹⁸ hir D, hit F. ¹⁹ enten-
 ciouſh S. ²⁰⁻²² may caſt it D, may it call Sp. ²³ diſceipt of²⁴ her Sp. ²⁵ Ne no
 Sp. ²⁶ om. Sp. ²⁷⁻²⁹ yis deſaite . . . nat S. ³⁰ his D, That of his harme ſhe
 ſhould Sp. ³¹⁻³³ hie S. ³⁴ hald S. ³⁵ brake D Sp. ³⁶ this Sp. ³⁷ Vnnethr.
³⁸⁻⁴⁰ men mowe D, as men may all day ſee Sp., mow T. ⁴¹ om. D. ⁴² Seris D.

yf that ye be discreet / and resonable,
¹ye wol hir hold[en] / the¹ more excusable. 385

[56]

And when men
 say women are
 unstable,

And where² men seyn / in man) ys stedfastnesse, 386
 and woman) ys / of hir corage vnstable,
 Who may of Adam / bere swiche³ witnesse?

I ask 'Waan't
 Adam change-
 able?'

telleth me this / was he nat chaungeable?
 they⁴ bothe weren / in a caas semblable;⁴ 390
 sauf willyngly the feende / deceyued Eve,
 and so dide she nat Adam / by your leue. 392

[57]

Yet God

took flesh of a
 Virgin,

Yet was this synne⁵ / happy to man-kynde : 393
 the feende deceyved was / for al his sleight;
 for aught⁶ he coude him / in his slehythes wynde,
⁷god, to discharge⁷ mankynde / of the weight⁸
 of⁹ his trespass, cam¹⁰ doun / from the¹¹ hevenes height,
 and flessch and blood / ¹²he tooke of A¹² virgyne,
 and suffred deth / him¹³ to delyuer of pyne! 399

[58]

and if He'd
 known that
 woman was so
 bad as men say
 she is, He'd never
 have been born
 of her.

And god, to whom / ther may no thing hyd be, 400
 yf he in woman knowe / had suche malyce
 as men of hem recorde / in generalte;
 of¹⁴ our lady, of lyfe / reparatrice,
 Nolde han be born / but ¹⁵for that¹⁵ she of vice 404
 Was woyde / and of al vertu (wel he wyste)
 endowed¹⁶ / of hir to be bore hym liste. 406

[59]

She is so full of
 virtues that no
 man can express
 them.

Hir heped¹⁷ vertu / hath swich¹⁸ excellence, 407
 that al to leene¹⁹ / ys mannes faculte
 to declare yt / and ther-for in suspence,

¹⁻¹ 3e wold hold womēn ye S, hir wolde D. ² whan B. ³ suche D, soch a Sp,
⁴⁻⁴ boith warc cause symiable S, o case Sp. ⁵ MS. fynne. ⁶ thoūch S. ⁷⁻⁷ God
 dischargit S. ⁸ plicht S. ⁹ for S. ¹⁰ come D. ¹¹ om. S. ¹²⁻¹² take of a cleyū
 S. ¹³ man D. ¹⁴ MS. yf. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ om. D. ¹⁶ Endewed D. ¹⁷ happy D, hicht S.
¹⁸ such D. ¹⁹ low S.

hir duë preysing / put moot nedes be ;
 but this I sey / [right] verraly, that she, 411
 next god, ¹the best frend ys¹ / that to men longeth : Next God, she is
 the key of mercye by² hir girdille hongeth. 413 man's best friend.

[60]

And of mercye / hath euery man swich³ nede, 414
 that, cessyng⁴ that / farewel the Ioy of man !
 of her power / now taketh⁵ ryght⁶ good hede !
 she mercye may / wol,⁷ and purchase kan ! Women can win
 dysplese⁸ hir nat⁹ / honureth that woman, 418 meū mercy.
 and other women al[le]¹⁰ / for hir sake !
 and but ye do / your sorowe shal a-wake ! 420

[61]

Thou precieuse gemme / O martir¹¹ Margarete, 421 Witness the con-
 of¹² thy blood / draddest noon effusion ! stancy of
 thy martirdome / ¹³ne may I nat¹³ foryete ! ¹⁴ St. Margaret
 thou constant womman / in thy passyon the martyr.
 ouercoom¹⁵ the feendis / temptacion : 425
 and many a wyght¹⁶ / conuerted thy doctryne,
¹⁷Vnto the feith of God / holy virgyne ! ¹⁷ 427

[62]

But vnderstondeth / I commende hir noght 428 Her I praise,
 by encheson / of hir virginite. not for her
 trusteth ryght¹⁸ wel¹⁹ / it cam neuer in my thoght, virginity,
 for euer werre y²⁰ / ayein²¹ chastyte,
 and ever ²²shal / but this, lo, meveth me,²² 432
 hir louyng hert / and constant to hir lay,
 dryve oute of my rem[em]braunce / I ne may ! 434 but for her
 constancy.

¹⁻¹ is the best frende B. ² at Sp. ³ suche D. ⁴ wanting S. ⁵ takith nowe D. ⁶ here S. ⁷ weft D Sp. ⁸ Dispise S. ⁹ not D. ¹⁰ And all othir women S. ¹¹ of martirs Sp. ¹² That of Sp. ¹³⁻¹⁵ may I not D. ¹⁴ Speght's line is : 'Thou lover true, thou maiden mansuete.' ¹⁵ ouercame Sp. ¹⁶ mañ S. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ From Ashb. MS. god / holy D. Speght, / holy God thou, 1602, fol. 312, back, col. 2. F B omit l. 441. ¹⁸ om. S. ¹⁹ om. 'ryght wel' Sp. ²⁰ werrey F, I werrey D S T. ²¹ A yens D. ²²⁻²² I shatt / but lo this mouyht D, (lo this) Sp, lo this commend me S.

[63]

Who can find	In any boke also / where can ye fynde,	435
	(that of the werkis / ¹ or the ¹ dethe or lyfe of Ihesu speketh / or maketh any mynde,)	
that any woman forsook Christ?	that wommen him forsook ² / for woo or stryfe? wher was ³ ther any wyght ⁴ / so ententyfe ⁵	439
But all the Apostles did.	a-bouten ⁴ him / as women? pardee ⁵ noon! thapostels hym forsoken ⁶ / euerychon!	441

[64]

	Womman forsooke hym nocht / for al the feyth	442
	of holy chirche / in womman left oonly :	
	this is no lees / for thus ⁷ holy wryt seyeth. Lok ! and ye shal so fynde yt / hardely ; ⁸	
In woman, then, lies constancy ;	and therefore I may ⁹ preve / wel herby, ⁹	446
	that in womman regneth / stable constance ;	
in man, change.	and in men / ys the ¹⁰ chaunge and ¹¹ variance !	448

[65]

	Now holdeth this for ferme / and for no lye,	449
And my true laud of women	that this ¹² trew / and Iust ¹² commendacion of women, tolde ¹³ / I nat ¹⁴ for flaterye, ne to cause hem ¹⁵ pride / or ¹⁶ elacion),	
is to help them to persevere in virtue,	but oonly loo / for this entencion),	453
	to yeve hem corage / of perseueraunce	
	In vertu / and ¹⁷ hir honure to enhaunce. ¹⁸	455

[66]

	The more vertu / the lasse is the pride.	456
	vertu so digne is / and so noble in kynde,	
	that vice and [s]he ¹⁹ / wol not ²⁰ in feere abide :	
	[s]he putteth vyce ²¹ / clene out of hi[r] mynde,	459
	[s]he fleeth from him / [s]he leueth ²² him behynde !	

¹⁻¹ othir S. ² hym) forsoke D, him forsook Sp. F. ³⁻³ any so Inly ententyfe S. ⁴ About D. ⁵ proued Sp., for pardee. ⁶ The Apostelis forsoke hym D, him forsoken Sp., forsoken hym F B. ⁷ om. S. ⁸ redely S. ⁹⁻⁹ prove well therby D, wel preve herby F B, therby Sp. ¹⁰ om. D. ¹¹ of Sp. ¹²⁻¹² Iust and trew S. ¹³ writt S. ¹⁴ not D, tel I for no Sp. ¹⁵ Ne bicause of Sp. ¹⁶ nor S. ¹⁷ om. D. ¹⁸ auaunce Sp. ¹⁹ sche S. ²⁰ om. S. ²¹ om. S, reads clere, hir. ²² put S.

O womman / that of wertu art hostesse,¹
 gret ys thyn honor / and thy worthynesse ! 462

of which, woman
 is the hostesse.

[67]

Than wol we thus / concluden and dyffyne : 463
 we yow comaunde / oure Ministres echon,
 that redy ²been / to oure hestes² enclyne,
 that, of thise false³ men / our reble⁴ foon,
 ye do punyshement⁵ / and that anoon ! 467
 voide ⁶hem our⁶ court / and banyssh hem⁷ for euer,
 so that ⁸ther-in / they ne come more⁸ neuer. 469

Then, my
 servants,

turn these false
 rebels of men out
 of my Court!

[68]

fulfilled be ⁹yt / cessyng al delay !⁹ 470
 look [that]¹⁰ ther be noon / excusacion
¹¹writen in the ayer / the lusty¹¹ moneth of May,
 In oure paleys / where many A Milion
 of louers trwe / han habitacion), 474
 the yere of grace / Ioyful and Iocunde
 A thousand and ¹²four houndred / and¹³ secounde. 476

Written in May,

1402.

¶ Explicit *littera* Cupidinis ¹⁴dei amatoris
*directa suis subditis.*¹⁴

(In a late hand, Stowe's?) T. hocleve.

¹ hostresse Sp., Hostes S. ²⁻³ ye be oure hestes to Sp.
² false Sp., om. F D. ⁴ rebell Sp. ⁵ punicioun S. ⁶⁻⁸ thame
 3our S. ⁷ thame S. ⁸⁻⁹ here after therin they come D, therein
 more come they Sp. ⁹⁻⁹ this precept without D S. ¹⁰ S in-
 serts that. ¹¹⁻¹¹ Wretyn in the lusty D Sp. (Read 'th' ayer'
 as one syllable.) ¹² om. D Sp. S. ¹³ the D. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Explicit etc
 S. *directa subditis suis amatoribus* D T, the lettre of Cupide
 god of lous directed to his suggestys louers, B. [At end of
 line, and of other poems, 'Lyty'; † the rubricator, B.]

Durham MS. III. 9.

After the two fly-leaves, the first 10 paper leaves of the poem—all the *Complaint*, and the beginning of the *Dialog*—are in the handwriting of John Stowe, the Chronicler.

Collation of vellum sheets: *a* and *b* in eights missing; *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, in eights; *n* 1—3.

XX.

[*Durham Hoccleve*: III. 9.]Thomas Hocclibe[’s Complaint.¹]

[leaf 8]

[*The Prolog.*]

(1)

<p>A fter that heruest Inned had his sheves,² and that the broune³ season⁴ of myhelmesse was come, and gan the trees robbe of ther⁵ leves That grene had bene⁶ / and in lusty fresshesse, and them⁷ in-to colowre / of yelownesse hadd dyen⁸ / and doune throwne vndar⁹ foote, that chaunge sank¹⁰ / into myne herte roote.</p>	<p>1 After Michaelmas, 5 7 the fall of the leaves</p>
--	--

(2)

<p>for freshely browght it¹¹ / to my remembraunce, that stablenes in this worlde is there none; there is no thinge / but chaunge and variaunce; how welthe¹² a man be / or well be-gone,¹³ endure it shall not / he shall it for-gon.¹⁴ deathe¹⁵ vnder fote / shall hym thrist adowne : that is every wites¹⁶ / conclusyon.</p>	<p>8 reminded me 12 that man's wealth quite him, and he dies. 14</p>
---	--

(3)

<p>whiche for to weyue / is in no mannes¹⁷ myght, how riche he be / stronge, lusty, freshe, and gay. and in the ende / of novembar, vpon a nyght,</p>	<p>15 Late in November</p>
--	--

[The various readings are from the Selden MS, unless markt Dm. for the Durham MS, or St. for Stowe's part of the Durham MS.]

¹ Pencil: later. ² W. Browne [in margin].
³ broun, Selden; brome, Stowe. ⁴ sesoun ⁵ her ⁶ ben
⁷ hem ⁸ died ⁹ throwen vndir ¹⁰ alterd from 'sange' in Dm.
¹¹ brougte it [browght Dm] ¹² welthi ¹³ wel be-goon
¹⁴ for-goon ¹⁵ Deeth ¹⁶ wijtes ¹⁷ mannes (mans, St.)

I lay awake
thinking. syghenge sore / as I in my bed lay,
for this and othar thowghts¹ / whiche many a day 19
before² I toke / sleape cam none in myne eye,
so vexyd me / the thowghtfull maladye. 21

(4)

Since my last
illnesse, I see well, sythen³ I with sycknes last 22
was scourged / clowdy hath bene the favoure
that shone [on]⁴ me / full bright in tymes past;
the sonne abatid / and the derke showre
hildyd downe right on me / and in langour 26
I didn't want to
live; he⁵ made [me] swyme / so that my wite⁶
to lyve / no lust hadd, ne [no]⁷ delyte. 28

(5)

I grievd so The grefe abowte / my⁸ harte so⁹ [sore] swal 29
and bolned evar / to and to so sore,
that I was forst that nedes / oute I must[e] there-with-all;
I thowght I nolde it kepe¹⁰ clos no more,
ne lett it in me / for to olde¹¹ and hore; 33
and for to preve¹² / I cam of a woman,
to speak out. I brast oute on the morowe / and thus began. 35
here endythe my prologe . and folowythe my
complaynt.

[The Complaint.]

(6)

[leaf 3, back] A ll myghty god / as lykethe his goodnes, 36
visytethe folks¹³ alday / as men may se,
with lose of good / and bodily sikeneese,
and amonge othar / he forgat not me;
God made me
mad. witnes vppon the wyld infirmyte 40
which that I had / as many a man well knewe,
and whiche me owt of my selfe¹⁴ / cast and threw. 42

¹ opir pouztis ² Byforne ³ I sy wel sithin ⁴ shooun on⁵ Me ⁶ spirite (for wite) ⁷ ne no [no added above the line]⁸ myn ⁹ so sore [sore added above the line] ¹⁰ nolde / kepe it¹¹ celde ¹² preue: pryve St. ¹³ vesiteþ folke ¹⁴ silfe

(7)

It was so knowen to the people / and kouthē, 43 Every one knew
that counsell was it none / ne none be myght[e];
how it with me stode / was in every mans¹ mowthe,
and that full sore / my fryndes² affright[e];
they for myne helthe / pilgrimages hight[e], 47 My friends went
and sowght them³ / some on hors and some on foote,— pilgrimages for
god yelde it them³ /— to get[en] me [my] bote.⁴ 49 me.

(8)

but althowghe the substaunce / of my memory 50 I lost my
went[e] to play / as for a certayne space, memory,
yet the lorde of vertew / the kynge of glory,
of his highe myght / and⁵ [his] benynge grace,
made it to returne / in-to the place 54 but it came back
when[ne]s it cam / whiche⁶ at all hallwe messe, on Nov. 1,
was five yeeere / neyther more ne lesse. 56 5 years ago,

(9)

And evere⁷ sythen /—thanked be god owr lord, 57
of his good⁸ reconsiliacion,—
my wyt and I / have bene of suche accorde and has remaind.
as we were / or the alteracion
of it was / but by my savacion, 61
[Sith] that⁹ tyme have I be / sore sett on fire,
and lyved in great torment / and martire; 63

(10)

for thowgh that my wit / were home¹⁰ come agayne,
men wolde it not¹¹ so vnderstond or take; 65
with me to dealē / hadden they dysdayne;
a ryotows person I was / and forsake;
myn olde ffrindshipec / was all ovarshake; 68 But my old
no wyte¹² withe me lyst make daliance; friends have cut
the worlde me made a straunge continance, 70 me.

¹ mannes : mans St. ² frendis : frynds St. ³ hem
⁴ me my boote ⁵ and his ⁶ was St. om. was ⁷ every St.
⁸ good and gracious St. ⁹ Sith þat ¹⁰ hoom
¹¹ not : no St. ¹² wigt

(11)

[leaf 4]	whiche ¹ that myne herte / sore gan ² torment[e];	71
In Westminster Hall and London	for ofte whan I / in westmynster hall[e], and eke in london / amonge the prese ³ went[e], I se ⁴ the chere / abaten and apalle of them ⁵ that weren wonte me for to calle	75
they turnd their heads from me.	to companye / her heed they caste a-wry[e], when I them mette / as they not me sye.	77

(12)

I was forgotten.	As seile is in the sauter / might I say, they that me sye / fledden a-wey fro me ; forgeten I was / all owte of mynde a-way, as he that dede was / from hertes cherte ; to a loste vessell / lickened myght I be ; for many a wyght / abowte me dwellynge, herd I me blame / and putte in dispreisinge.	78 82 84
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(13)

Folk said I should go mad again.	Thus spake many one ⁶ / and seyde by me : 'all-thowghe from hym / his siknesse savage with-drawne and passyd / as for a tyme be, Resorte it wole / namely in suche age as he is of' / and thanne my visage bygan to glowe / for the woo and fere ; Tho wordis, them vnwar / cam to myn ere.	85 89 91
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(14)

Yet I havn't gone so.	'whane passinge hete is,' quod they, 'trustyth this, assaile hym wole ⁷ agayne that maladie ;' and yet parde / they token them amise ; none ⁸ effect at all / toke there ⁹ prophecie ; manie someres ben past / sithen remedye ¹⁰ of that, god of his grace me purveide : ¹⁰ thanked be god / it shope nought ¹¹ as they seile.	92 96 98
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¹ with ² gan to St. ³ prees ⁴ sy ⁵ hem ⁶ oone
⁷ him wole : wole hym St. ⁸ Noon ⁹ her

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ these lines as in Seld. : transposed by St. ¹¹ shoop not

(15)

what fall[e] shall / what men so ¹ deme or gesse,	99	
to hym that wott ² [well] every mans ³ secre,		
reservyd is / it is a lew[e]dnesse,		
men wyser them pretende / then they be ;		Men shouldn't
and no wight knoweth / be it he or she,	103	pretend to know
whom, how ne whan / god wole hym visete ;		what'll happen.
It happethe ofte ⁴ / whan men wene it lite.	105	

(16)

Some tyme I wend / as lite as any man,	106	[leaf 4, back]
for to have fall / in-to that wildenesse		
but god, whan [that] hym list / may, wole and can,		God sends sick-
helthe with-drawe / and send a wyght sycknesse ;		ness or health
Thowghe man be well this day / no sykernesse	110	
to hym bihight is / that it shall endure ;		
god hurte now can / and nowe hele and cure.	112	as He likes.

(17)

he suffrith longe / [but] at ⁵ the laste he smit ;	113
whane that a man is / in prosperite,	
To drede a fall comynge / it is a wit ;	
who so that takethe hede / ofte may se	
This worldis change / and mūtabilite	117
In sondry wyse / howe nedeth not expresse :	
To my mater / streit wole I me dresse.	119

(18)

Men seyden, I loked / as a wilde steer,	120	Men said I lookt
and so my loke abowt I gan to throwe ;		wild,
myne heed to hie / a-nother seide I beer,		
ful bukkyshe is his brayne / well may I trowe ;		that my brain
and seyde the thirde ⁶ / and apt is in the rowe	124	was buckish,
to site of them / that a resounles reed		
Can geve ⁷ / no sadnesse is in his heed.	126	

¹ ! whatso men ² woot ³ hertis ⁴ often
⁵ but at ⁶ thriddle ⁷ Can he zeue

(19)

Chaungid had I my¹ pas / some seiden eke, 127
 for here and there / forthe stirte I as a Roo,
 none abode² / none arrest, but all brain-seke.
 A-nother spake / and of me seide also,
 and my feet and eyes never still. my feete weren aye / wavynge to and fro 131
 whane that I stonde shulde / and withe men talke,
 and that myne eyne³ / sowghen every halke. 133

(20)

I leide an ere aye to / as I by⁴ wente, 134
 So I thought and herde all / and thus in myne herte I cast :
 of longe abydyng here / I may repent[e];⁵
 leste, of hastinesse / I at the last[e]
 I'd better go away; answe a-myse / best is hens hye fast[e]; 138
 for yf I in this preace / a-mysse me gye,
 to harme will⁶ it me turne / and to folly[e]. 140

(21)

And this I demyd well / and knew well eke, 141
 what-so-evar I shuld answe or sey,
 they wold[en]⁷ not have⁸ holde it worthe a leke;
 for why / as I hadd lost my tonges key,
 Kepte I me cloos / and trussyd me my wey, 145
 but I was very sad. drowpyng and hevye / and all woo bystad;
 small cawse had I / me thowght[e], to be glade. 147

(22)

My sprites / laboryd [euere] bysyly⁹ 148
 to peinte countinaunce¹⁰ / chere and loke,
 for that men spake of me / so wonderingly,
 and for the very shame / and fere I qwoke;¹¹
 thowghe myne herte had be / dypped in y^e broke, 152
 It wete and moyste I-now was of my swot,
 whiche was nowe frostye colde / now firy hoot. 154

¹ me ² Noon abood ³ yen ⁴ by: be St.
⁵ may me repent ⁶ wole ⁷ wolden ⁸ han
⁹ labouriden / euere ful bisily ¹⁰ countenaunce ¹¹ wook

(23)

And in my chamber at home when I¹ was
 my selfe alone² / I in this wyse wrowght :
 I streite vnto my myrrowr / and my glas,
 to loke how that me / of my chere thowght[e],
 yf any [other] were³ it / than it owght[e];
 for fayne wolde I / yf it had not⁴ be right,
 amendyd it / to my künynge and myght.

155 At home I lookt
in the glass,

159

161

(24)

Many a sawte made I to this myrrowre,
 thinkynge, "yf that I loke in this manere
 amonge folke / as I now do,⁵ none errowr
 of suspecte loke / may in my face appere,
 this countenance, I am svre,⁶ and this chere,
 If I forthe vse / is no thinge reprevable
 to them that have / conseytes resonable."

162

and thought I
was all right,

166

168

(25)

And there-with-all / I thowght[e] thus anon :
 "men in theyr⁷ owne case / bene blynd alday,
 as I haue hard say / many a day agon,
 and in that [same] plyght⁸ / I stonde may ;
 how shall I doo / which is the best[e] way,
 my trowbled spirit / for to bringe at⁹ rest[e] ?
 yf I wist howe / fayne wolde I do the best[e]."

169

but perhaps
couldn't see my
real state.

173

175

(26)

Sythen I recoveryd was / have I full ofte
 Cawse had of angre / and ympacience,
 where I borne have it¹⁰ / esely and softe,
 sufferynge wronge be done to me, and offence,
 and nowght¹¹ answeryd ageyn / but kept sylence,
 lest that men of me / deme would, and seyne,
 'se how this man / is fallen in agayne.'

176

[leaf 5, back]

180

I've sufferd
wrong,
and held my
tongue.

182

¹ þat I ² aloone ³ othir were ⁴ not had bene
⁵ nowe do ⁶ sure ⁷ her ⁸ same plite ⁹ in ¹⁰ it
¹¹ not

(27)

Coming from Westminster,	As that I ones ¹ / fro westmynstar cam,	183
	vexid full greuously / withe thougthfull hete,	
I thought I was a fool to show myself;	thus thougth I / "a great fole I am, this payment / a dayes thus to bete, and in and out / labour[e] fast and swete,	187
	wonderinge / and hevynes to purchase, sythen I stand ² out / of all favour and grace."	189

(28)

and yet if I kept in, I should be held worse.	And then thougth I / on that othar syde :	190
	"If that I not be sene / amonge the prees, men deme wele ³ / that I myne heade hyde, and am werse than I am / it is no lees."	
	O lorde, so my spirite / was rest[e]les,	194
	I sowght[e] reste / and I not it found, but aye was trouble / redy at myn hond.	196

(29)

I can't stop folks' fancies;	I may not lett a man / to ymagine	197
	ferre above the mone / yf that hym lyst ; there-by the sowthe / he may not determyn[e], but by the prefe / bene thing[e]s knowne ⁴ & wiste ;	
	many a dome / is wrappyd in the myst ;	201
	man by his dedes / and not by his lokes, shall knowne be / as it is writen in bokes.	203

(30)

and some deem me mad still.	by taste of frewte / men may well wete and knowe	204
	what that it is / othar prefe is there none ; every man wott well that / as that I trowe, right so they / that demen my witt is gone,	
	as yet ⁵ this day / there demythe many a one ⁶	208
	I am not well / may, as I by them goo, taste and assay / yf it be so or noo.	210

¹ oones ² stone ³ wole ⁴ knowen ⁵ zit
⁶ many oon

(31)

Vpon a looke / is harde, men them to grownde	211	[leaf 6]
what a man is / there-by the sothe is hid ;		
whither his wittes / seke bene or sounde,		A man's wits
by cowntynaunce / it is not wist ne kyd ;		oughtn't to be
thowghe ¹ a man harde / have ones bene bityde,	215	judged by his
God shilde it shuld / on hym contynue alway ;		looks.
by comunynge / is the best assay.	217	

(32)

I mene to comon ² of thing[e]s mene,	218	
for I am but right lewde / dowl[e]les,		
and ygnoraunte / my cunnynge is full lene,		
yet homly reason / know I nevartheles ;		
not hope I founden be / so resonles	222	I'm not so witless
as men demen / marie, christ forbede !		as folk think.
I can no more / preve may the dede.	224	

(33)

If a man ones / fall in dronkenesse,	225	A man who gets
shall he contynewe / there-in evar mo ?		drunk once
nay, thowghe a man doo / in drinkynge excesse		
so ferforth / that not speake he ne can, ne goo,		
and his wittes / welny ben refte hym froo,	229	
and buryed in the Cuppe / he aftarward		
Comythe to hym selfe agayne / ellis were it hard ;	231	becomes sober ;

(34)

Right so / thowghe my ³ witt / were a pilgrime,	232	and tho' I went out of my mind,
and went[e] fer fro home / he cam agayne ;		
God me voydyd ⁴ / of this ⁵ grevous venyme		God cured me.
that had enfectyd / and wildyd my brayne.		
se how the curtese leche moste sovereyne,	236	
vnto the sycke / gerythe ⁶ medisyne		
in nede / and hym relevythe of his peyne. ⁷	238	

¹ Thou; ² commone ³ þat my ⁴ deuoided
⁵ the ⁶ 3eueeth ⁷ greuous pine

(35)

	Now let this passe / god wott, many a man	239
	semythe full wyse / by cowntenaunce and chere,	
	whiche, and he tastyd were what he can,	
	men myghten licken hym / to a fooles pere ;	
Some men look fools,	and some man lokethe / in foltyshe maner[e]	243
	as to the outward dome / and Iudgement,	
and yet prove wise,	that at the prese / descrete is and prudent.	245

(36)

[leaf 6, back]	but algates, howe so be / my countynaunce,	246
Still, tho' I look saue,	debate is now none / bytwyxt me and my wit,	
	all-thowghe there were / a dysseveraunce	
	as for a tyme / betwyxt me and it ;	
	the greater harme is myne, that nevar yet ¹	250
a wise man never stood on my feet ;	was I well lettered / prudent and discrete,	
	there nevar stode yet / wyse man on my fete.	252

(37)

	The sothe is this / suche conceit as I had,	253
and small wit as I had,	and vndarstondynge / all were it but small,	
	byfore that my wytt[e]s / wearen vnsad,	
	(thanked be owr lorde Ihesu christ of all !)	
It's less now.*	suche have I now / but blowe is ny owar all	257
	the reverse / where-thorwghe is the mornynge	
	whiche cawsethe me / thus syghe ² in complaynyng.	

(38)

	sythen my good fortune / hathe changed his ³ chere,	
It's high time for me to die ;	hye time is me / to crepe in-to my grave,	261
	to lyve Ioy[e]les / what do I here ?	
	I in myne herte / can no gladnes have ;	
	I may but small sey / but yf men deme I rave,	264
	sythen othar thinge the[n] ⁴ woo / may I none grype,	
	vnto my sepulture / ame I nowe ripe.	266

¹ 3it ² sy3e ³ hir ⁴ 3an

(39)

My well, adwe / farwell, my good fortune! 267 my good hap
 out of yowr tables / me playned have ye;
 sythen well ny eny wyght / for to comune
 with me lothe is / farwell prosperitie! has gone.
 I am no lengar / of your lyverye; 271
 ye have me put / out of yowr remembraunce;¹
 adewe, my good adventure / and good chaunce! 273

(40)

And as swithe after / thus by-thowght I me: 274
 yf that I in this wyse / me despeyre, But still,
 It is purchase / of more advarsytye;
 what nedethe it / my feble wit appeire;
 sythe god hathe made / myne helthe home repayre 278 I am well again,
 blessed be he / and what men deme or² speke, thank God;
 suffice it, thinke I / and me not on me wreke. 280

(41)

but some dele had I / reioysynge amonge, 281 [leaf 7]
 and gladnese³ also / in my spirite,
 that thowghe the people / toke them mis & wronge, and tho' folk
 me demynge / of my syck[e]nesse not quite, don't think me so,
 yet for they / compleyned / the hevy plite 285 they feel for me.
 that they had sene me in / with tendernessee
 of hertes cherte / my grefe was the lesse. 287

(42)

In them put I no defawlte but one; 288
 that I was hole / they not ne deme kowlede, They can't believe
 and day by day / they se me by them gon I'm well,
 In heate and colde / and neythar still nor lowde
 knew they me do suspectly / a dirke clowde 292
 they⁴ syght obscurd / with-in⁵ and with-out[e],
 and for all that / were they⁶ in suche a dowl[e]. 294

¹ retenaunce ² and ³ a gladnesse ⁴ Hir
 ⁵ withynne ⁶ ay

(43)

	Axid have ¹ they / full ofte sythe, and freined	295
tho' my fellow- clerks of the Privy-Soul have	of my fellow[e]s / of the prive seale, and preyed them to tell them / with ² hert vnfeynyd, how it stode wyth me / whither yll ³ or well.	
told them I am.	and they the sothe / told them every dell,	299
	but they helden / ther word[e]s not but les ; they myghten as well / have holden ther pes.	301

(44)

	This troubyl ye / hathe all to longe enduryd,	302
	not have I wylt / how in my skynne to turne ; but now my selfe / to my selfe have ensured, for no suche wondrynge / aftir this to morne ; as longe as my lyfe / shall in me soiorne,	306
	of suche ymaginyng / I not ne reche ; lat them drem ⁴ as them ⁵ lyst / and speke & dreche.	

(45)

The other day a booke of consol- ation by	This othar day / a lamentacion	309
	of a wofull man / in a boke I eye, to whome word[e]s / of consolacion	
Reason ⁶	Reason gave ⁷ / spekyng effectually ; and well easyd / myn herte was ther-by ;	313
	for when I had a while / in the boke red, with the speche of Reason / was I well fed.	315

(46)

[leaf 7, back] Thomas ⁶ A mourner's complaine of	The hevvy man / wofull and angwysshows,	316
	compleyned in this wyse / and thus seyde he :	
	' my lyfe is vnto me / full enconberows ; for whithar / or vn-to what place I flye, my wyckednesses / evar followe ⁸ me,	320
	as men may se / the shadow a body swe, and in no maner / I may them eschwe.	322

¹ Axide han ² wip ³ yuel ⁴ deem ⁵ hem
⁶ added later in margin ⁷ gaf ⁸ folowen

(47)

'vexation of spirite / and torment 323 vexation,
 lake I right none / I have of them plente ;
 wondarly byttar / is my taa[s]t¹ and sent ;
 wo be the² tyme / of my natyvyte,
 vnhappy man / that evar shuld it³ be ! 327
 O deathe, thy strooke / a salve is of swetnes
 to them that lyven / in suche wrechednes. 329

(48)

'Gretar plesaunce / were it me to dye, 330 and wisht for
 by many folde / than for to lyve soo ; death.
 sorows so many / in me multiplie,
 that my lyfe is / to me a wery⁴ foo ;
 comfortyd / may I not be of my woo ; 334
 of my distrese / se none end I can,
 no force how sone / I stinte to be a man.' 336

(49)

Than spake Reason / 'what menythe all this fare? 337 Reason⁵
 thowghe welthe be not frindly to the yet, urgd the Mourner
 out of thyn herte / voyde wo and care !'
 'by what skyl / how / and by what rede and wit,' Thomas⁵
 seyde this wofull man / 'myght I done it?' 341
 'wrestle,' quode Reason / 'a-gayne hevynesses Reason⁵
 of the worlde / troubles, suffring and duresses. 343

(50)

'beholde how many a man / suffrethe desseas[e] 344 to look at other
 as great as thow / and all a way greater ; folks' greater illa
 and thowghe it them pinche / sharply and sese,
 yet patiently / they it suffar and bere :
 thyinke here-on / and the lesse it shall the dere : 348
 suche sufferaunce is / of mans gylt clensynge,
 and them inablethe / to Ioye evarlastinge. 350

¹ laast² be be³ I⁴ verre⁵ later, in the margin.

(51)

[leaf 8] 'woo, hevynes / and tribulation, 351
 Trouble is com- comon are¹ to men² all / & profitable.
 mon to all, thowghe grevows be / mann[e]s temptacion,
 It sleythe man not / to them that ben sufferable,
 and to whom god[de]s stroke / is acceptable, 355
 purveyed Ioye is / for god woundythe tho
 that he ordeyned hathe / to blysse to goo / 357

(52)

and should be "Gold purgyd is / thou seyst, in the furneis, 358
 borne for the fyner and clenner / it shall be ;
 of thy disease / the weyght and the peis
 bere lyghtly / for god, to prove the,
 sporgyd the hathe / with sharpe adversitie ; 362
 not gruche and sey / " why susteyn I this ?"
 for yf thou do / thou the takest amis ; 364

(53)

as a punishment 'but thus thou shuldest / thinke in thyn herte, 365
 for sin. and sey, " to the, lorde god / I have a-gylte
 so sore : I moot / for myn offensis smerte
 as I am worthy / O lorde, I am spilt,
 but thou to me / thy³ mercy graunt[e] wilt. 369
 I am full swre / thou maist it not denye ;
 lord, I me repent / and I the mercy crye." 371

(54)

I took Reason's lenger I thowght[e] / red haue in this boke, 372
 teaching to heart, but so it shope / that I ne myght[e] nowght ;⁴
 he that it owght / agayne it to⁵ hym toke,
 me of his haste vnware / yet have I cawght
 sume of the doctryne / by reason tawght 376
 to the man / as a-bove have I sayde,
 where-of⁶ I hold[e] me / full well apayde. 378

¹ aren ² me ³ pi ; the St. ⁴ naujt ⁵ to to, Dm.

⁶ Welþrof.

(55)

for evar sythen / set haue I the lesse	379	and have since put up with folks' talk of my illness.
by the peoples / ymagination,		
talkynge this and that / of my sycknesse,		
whiche came of god[de]s visytacion ;		
myght I have be found / in probation,	383	
not grutchynge / but have take it in soffraunce,		
holsome and wyse / had be my governaunce.	385	

(56)

farwell my sorow / I caste it to the cok.	386	[leaf 8, back]
with pacience / I hens-forthe thinke vnpike		
of suche thow <u>g</u> htfull disesease and woo / the lok,		I'll unpick the lock of my woes,
and let them out / that have me made to sike ;		let them out,
here-aftar owr lorde god / may, yf hym lyke,	390	
make all myne olde affection resorte ;		
and in hope of that / woll I me comforte.	392	

(57)

Thrwghe ¹ gods iust dome / and his iudgement,	393	
and for my best[e] / now I take and deme,		and take my punishment for the best.
gave ² that good lorde / me my punisshement :		
in welthe I toke of hym / none hede or yeme,		
hym for to please / and hym honoure and queme,	397	
and he me gave a bone / on for to know[e],		God gave me a bone to gnaw.
me to correcte / and of hym to have awe.	399	

(58)

he gave me wit / and he toke it away	400	
when that he se ³ / that I it mys dyspent[e],		
and gave agayne / when it was to his pay,		
he grauntyd me / my giltes to repent[e],		
and hens-forwarde / to set myne entent[e],	404	I'll now try to please God and to amend.
vnto his deitie / to do plesaunce,		
and to amend / my synfull governaunce.	406	

¹ Thoru3² 3af³ sy

(59)

I thank Him	lawde and honore / and thanke vnto the be,	407
	lorde god / that salve art / to all hevynes !	
	thanke of my welthe / and myne adversyte,	
	thanke of myne elde / and of my sek[e]nese ;	
	and thanke be / to thyne Infinite goodnese	411
and appeal to His mercy.	for thy gyftes and benefices all[e],	
	and vnto thy mercye and grace I call[e].	413

XXI.

[Thomas Hoccleve (in Stowe's hand).]

*Dialogue with a
Friend.*[*Dialogus cum Amico.*] (later, in pencil)

(1)

[leaf 9] A friend knocks at my door.	A	nd, endyd my 'complaynt' / in this manere,	1
		one knocked / at my chambre dore sore,	
		and cryed a-lowde / 'howe, hoccleve ! arte thou here ?	

open thy dore / me thinkethe [it] full yore	
sythen I the se / what, man, for god[de]s ore	5
come out / for this quartar I not the sy,	
by owght I wot' / and out to hym cam I.	7

(2)

	This man was my good frynde / of farn a-gon,	8
	that I speke of / and thus ¹ he to me seyde :	
	'Thomas / as thou me lovest, tell a-non ²	
	what dydist thou / when I knocked and leyde	12
I ask him in,	vnto his will / "come in," quod I, "and se."	
	and so he dyd / he streyght went in with me.	14

(3)

	To my good frind / not thowght I to make it queinte, ³	
	ne my labowre / from hym to hyde or leyne ;	16
and read my 'Complaint' to him.	and right anon / I redd hym my 'complaynt' ;	
	and that done / thus he seyde, 'sen we twayne bene here / and no mo folke / for god[de]s peyne,	19

¹ þus.² anoon³ quette

Thomas, soffar me speke / and be not wrothe,
for the to offend[e] / were me full lothe. 21

(4)

'That I shall saye / shall be of good entent[e]: 22

hast thou made this complaynte / forthe to goo
amonge the people' / "ye, friend;" so I ment[e];

what ells¹ / 'Nay, Thomas, ware, do not soo!

yf thou be wyse / of that mattar hoo, 26

reherse thou it not / ne it a-wake;

kepe all that cloos / for thyn honours sake. 28

(5)

'how it stode with the / leyde is all a-slepe; 29

men haue forget it / it is owt of mynd;

that thou towche there-of / I not ne kepe;

let be; that rede I / for I can not finde

O man to speake of it / in as good a kynde 33

as thou hast stonde / amonge men or this day,

stondyst thou nowe' / "A, nay," quod I, "nay, nay! I refuse,

(6)

"Thowghe I be lewde / I not so fere-forthe dote; 36

I wott what men haue seyde / and seyne of me;

ther word[e]s have I not / as yet forgote;

but greate marvayle have I / of yow, that ye

no bet of my 'compleynte' / avysed be, 40

sythen, mafey / I not redd it vnto yow

so longe a-gone / for it was but right now. 42

(7)

"If ye toke hede / it makethe mention 43

that men of me speke / in myne audience

full hevely / of your entencion

I thanke you / for of benevolence,

wott I full well / procedith yowr sentence; 47

but certis, good frinde / that thinge that I here,

can I witnesse / and vnto it refere. 49

¹ ellis

My friend advises
me not to make
my 'Complaint'
public,

as folk have for-
gotten my lunacy.

[leaf 9, back]

as men talk of my
illness in my
hearing,

(8)

“ And where as that ye / me counseile and rede, 50
 that for myne honore / showlde I by no weye
 any thinge mynge / or towche of my wildhede,
 I vnto that / annswere thus and saye :
 and I'm not ashamed of God's punishment. of god[de]s stroke / how so it peyse or waye, 54
 owght no man to thinke / reprefe or shame ;
 his chastisyng / hurtithe no mans name. 56

(9)

“ An othar thinge / ther mevithe¹ me also ; 57
 sythen my syck[e]nesse / sprad was so wyde
 that men knew well / how it stode with me tho,
 I also want men to know that Jesus has cured me. as would I now / vpon that othar syde
 wist were / how our lord Ihesu, which is gyde 61
 to all relefe / and may all hertes cure,
 relevyd hathe me / synfull creature. 63

(10)

“ had I be for an homysede yknowe, 64
 or an extorcioner / or a robbowr,
 I'm not a thief or a coin-clipper, or for a coin² clypper / as wyde y-blowe
 as was my syckenesse / or a werriowr
 a-gayne the faythe / or a falce mayntaynowr 68
 of cawsays / thowghe I had a-mendyd me,
 them to have mynged / [would] have been nicete ; 70

(11)

[leaf 10] “ And why / for tho proceden of frailtie 71
 of man hym selfe / he brewythe all[e] tho ;
 for sythen god to man / gyven³ hathe libertie,
 a wilful evil-doer, which chese may / for to do well or no,
 yf he myse-chese / he is his owne foo ; 75
 and to rehearse his gilt / whiche hym accusethe,
 honor saythe nay / there he scilence excusithe. 77

¹ meneþ² coin S. comon Dm.³ þoue

(12)

- "but this is / all a-nothar case sothelye : 78
 this was the stroke of god / he gave me this ;
 and sythe he hathe / withe-drawe it curteisly,
 am I not holden [tell] it owt / O yes ;
 but yf god had this thanke / it wer amyse.¹ 82
 In seythe, frinde / [I thenke] make an open ² shryfte,
 and hyd[e] not / what I had of his gyfte. 84

but only a sufferer
from the stroke of
God.

(13)

- "If that a leche / curyd had me so,— 85
 as they lacken all / that science and myght,—
 a name he shulde / have had for evar mo,
 what cure he had done / to so seke a wight.
 and yet my purs / he wolde have made full lyght ; 89
 but curteys Ihesu / of his grace pacient,
 axith not / but of gilte amendement. 91

If a doctor had
cured me,

he'd have been
highly praisd.

(14)

- "The benefice of god / not hyd be shuld[e] : 92
 sythen of myne hele / he gave me triacle,
 It to confese / and thanke hym, am ³ I hold[e],
 for he in me hathe shewyd his myracle ;
 his vysytacion is a spectacle 96
 in whiche that I / beholde may and se,
 bet then I dyd / how great a lorde is he. 98

Surely then I
shouldn't hide
God's benefice to
me.

(15)

- "but, frind, amonge the vises that right now 99
 rehersed I, one of them, dare I saye,
 hathe hurt me sore / and I wot well ynow
 so hathe it mo / which is feble ⁴ moneye :
 many a man this day / but they gold wey[e], 103
 of men / not wole it take ne receyve,
 and yf it lake his peis / they woll ⁵ it weive. 105

light coin.

¹ MS. anyse ² make I thenke an open ³ as Dm.

⁴ feole St. ⁵ wole

(16)

[leaf 10, back]	"how may it holde his peise / when it is waishe	106
	so that it lackethe ¹ / somewhat in thiknese?	
	the falce people / no thinge them abashe	
Folk clip coin,	to clyp it eke / in ² brede and in rowndnese,	
	in that ³ it shulde be / alweye the lesse :	110
and hurt the poor.	the pore man / amonge all othar is	
	full sore anoyed / and grevyd in this.	112

(17)

	"If it be golde and hole / that men hym profre	113
	for his labowre / or his chaffar lent,	
	take it yf him lyst / and put it in his coffre,	
	for wasshinge or clyppynge / hold hym content	
	or leve / he got none othar payment ;	117
	it semythle but small / othar is there ;	
	trewthe is absent / but falshed is not fer.	119

(18)

The poor are injured by coins	"how shall the pore do / yf in his holde	120
	no more money / he ne have at all,	
	par cas / but a noble / or halfpeny of golde,	
thind & clipt.	and it so thin is / and so narowe and smale,	
	that men the eschaunge eschewen ovar all?	124
	not will it goo / but moche ⁴ he there-one lese ;	
	he mote do so / he may none other chese.	126

(19)

I have been.	"I myselfe in this case / bene have, or this,	127
	wherefore I know it / a grete dell ⁵ the bett.	
Sweaters of coin should be hung.	he that in falsynge of coyne / guilty is,	
	hathe great wronge / that he nere ⁶ on a ⁷ gebet ;	
	It is pitie / that he there-from is let,	131
	sythen he there-to hathe / so great tittle and right :	
	Reigne Iustice / and preve on them thy myght!	133

¹ lacke ² it eke it in ³ in than ; is that St.
⁴ miche ⁵ dele ⁶ nere S. ⁷ þe.

(20)

"when I this wrote / many me dyd amyse ; 134
 they weyed gold / vnhad auctoritie ;
 no statute [made] was ¹ then / as [pat] now ² is ;
 but sythen golde to wey / chargid now ben we,
 Reason axith / that it obeyed be ; 138
 now tyme it is / unto weight[e]s vs draw[e],
 aythen that the parlyament / hathe made it a lawe. 140

Now an Act of
Parliament makes
weighing of coins
needful.

(21)

"yet othar shrewes / done a worse gyn ; 141
 and tho bene they / that the coyne countarfete,
 and they that with gold / coper, cloth and tyn,
 to make all seme gold / they swinke and swete
 In hell[e] for to purchace / them a sete : 145
 If thethar lede them / theyr ³ falce covetise,
 that purchas made was / in a foltyshe wyse. 147

[leaf 11]

Counterfeiters of
coin make them-
selves a seat in
Hell.

(22)

"what cawsethe, trowe ⁴ ye / all this mischance? 148
 what comforte gyven ⁵ is / to this vntrwthe?
 In feythe, men seyne / it is the mayntynance
 of great[e] folke / whiche is great ⁶ harme & ruthe.
 god graunt here-aftar / that ther be no slowthe,⁷ 152
 of this treason / punishment to do,
 ryght such as that is / partinent ther-to. 154

The evil is done
by the mainten-
ance of great folk,

(23)

"they that consenten / to do that falshede, 155
 as well as the werkars / withe peyne egall
 punished ⁸ owght to be / as that I rede.
 now, manyteynors / be ware now of a fall!
 I speke of no parson / in especiall ⁹ ; 159
 In contries dyvers / is there many one
 of yow / and hathe bene ¹⁰ / many a day a-gon. 161

who ought to be
punishid.

¹ made was ; was Din. ² pat nowe ; now St. ³ her
⁴ trowen ⁵ zouen ⁶ a great ⁷ sloupe ; showpe Dm.
 ⁸ punischid ⁹ special ¹⁰ be

(24)

Falsc-coining
harms the king

" Alas / that to owr Kyng[e]s preiudice, 162
and harme to all / his lige people trew[e],
Continue shall / this fowle and cursed vice
of falsynge of coyne / not begone of new[e], 165
whiche / and it forthe goo / many one shall it rew[e].
God and our Kyuge / remedye all this grefe,
and the people, for to the people / it is a foule mischeffe. 168

(25)

who call for ven-
geance on the
false moneyers.

" by comon harme / is not small to set[te]; 169
that venom / ovar wyde and brod[e] spredethe :
grete merit were it / suche thinge stope and let[te],
as that the comon / in-to myscheffe ledythe. 172
the voyce of the people / vengauce on yow gredithe,
ye cursed men / ye false moneyours,
and on yowre outeris / and yowr maynteynours! 175

(26)

[leaf 11, back]
But I fear these
cursed fellows
won't be punisht.

" O, this I drede alweye / this hevieth me 176
many a sythe / that punishment
none fall[e] shall / on this cursed meynye ;
how trewe so be / ther enditement,¹
owr lyge lorde / shall be so Innocent, 180
that vnto hym / shall hyd be y^e notice ;
vnwasshen gold / shall wasshe² a-way that vice. 182

(27)

Tho' the King 'll
be told who the
false coiners are,

they'll trick him,
and escape.

" Enformed shalbe / his hie excellence 183
by menes / whom that the lady moneye
hath rowned with / and shewyd evidence
In plate / that all wronge is that men seye
of that false folke / my sowle dare I laye, 187
tho mens³ shullen have / no defectyve plate ;
here receyte shall be / good and fyne algate. 189

¹ enditement ; entendement St. ² waisshe ; vanyshe St.

³ meenes

(28)

"Nowe in good faythe / I drede there shall be 190
 suche multitude / of that falce secte
 with-in this two yere / or ellis thre,
 but yf this styntyng errowr / be correcte,
 that so myche¹ of this land / shall be infecte 194
 there-with, that trewth shall a-downe be throw[e],
 and that cursed falshed / it² overgrow[e]. 196

If this evil isn't
corrected.

truth will be
overthrown.

(29)

"lo, frinde / nowe haue I myne entent vnreke 197
 of my longe tale / displese yow nowght."
 'nay, Thomas, nay / but late me to the speke :
 when thy compleynt / was to the end ybrowght,
 cam it owght in thy purpos / and thy thowght, 201
 owght ell[e]s ther-with / to have made than that ?'
 "ye, certayne, frind" / 'O nowe, good Thomas, what ?'

My friend asks
what else I mean
to write.

(30)

"frinde, that I shall you tell / as blyve, y-wys : 204
 in latyn haue I sene / a small tretis[e],
 whiche 'lerne for to dye' / I-callyd is :
 a bettar restreynte / know I none fro vice : 207
 for whan that deathe / shall men³ from hence⁴ trice,
 bnt he that lesson / lerned have or than,
 war that / for⁵ deathe comethe, wot ther no wyght whan.

[leaf 12]

I've seen a Latin
treatise 'Learn to
die.'

(31)

"And that have I purposed to translate, 211
 If god his grace / lyst ther-to me lene,
 sythen he of helthe / hathe openyd me the gate ;
 for where my sowle is / of vertwe all lene,
 and thrwge my bodyes gilt / fowle⁶ & vnclene, 215
 to clens it / some-what by translation
 of it, shall be / myne occupation. 217

and I mean to
english it.

¹ moche² it ; is St.³ man⁴ hennes⁵ for ; and St.⁶ & fowle St.

(32)

This treatise 'll
make men take
account of their
sins,

"for I not only / but, as that I hope, 218
many an othar wight / eke there-by shall
his consyence / [ful] tenderly grope,
and withe hym selfe acompte, & reken of all 221
that he hathe in his¹ lyfe / wrowght, great &² small,
while he tyme hathe / & freshe wit and vigowr,
and not abyde / vnto his dethes howr. 224

(33)

and not delay till
they are near
death.

"man may in this tretis / here-aftward, 225
yf that hym lyke / rede and beholde,
consyder and se well / that it is full hard
delay accompts / tyll lyfe begyne to colde ;
short tyme is then / of his offencis olde 229
to make a iust / and trew[e] rekenynge ;
sharpnes of payne / is there-to great hindringe. 231

(34)

[leaf 12, back]

I do this transla-
tion at the urging
of a devout man,

"Not hath³ me stiryd / my devocion 232
to do this labour / ye shullan vnderstond[e],
but at the exitynge / and monicion
of a devout man / take I here on hond[e]
this labowr / and as I cane,⁴ wole I fond[e] 236
his reade, thwrghe gods grace, to parforme,
thowghe I be bare / of intellecte and forme. 238

(35)

and when it's
finisht, I shall
write no more.

"And whan that endy is / I never thinke, 239
more in englyshe aftar / be occupied ;
I may not labowr / as I dyd, and swinke ;
my lust is not there-to / so well applied
as it hathe bene / it is ny mortyfied ; 243
wherefore I cesse thinke / be this done,
the night approchethe / it is fer past none. 245

¹ this

² or

³ corr. from 'have I,' in St.

⁴ came

(36)

"Of age am I fifty winter and thre; 246 I am 53;
 Ripenesse of dethe / fast vpon me hastethe;¹
 my lymes sumdell / now vnweldy be;
 all my syght apperithe faste, and wastithe,
 and my conceyte / a dayes now / not tastethe 250 my sight is im-
 paired, and my
 mind too.
 as it hath done / in yeres precedent;
 now all a-nother is my sentement.² [*Stowe ends.*] 252

(37) [*Hoccleve's parchment begins.*]

"More am I heuy now vp-on a day, 253 (leaf 13)
 Than I sum tyme was in dayes fyue;
 Thynges þat or this me thoghþe game & play,
 Is earnest now / ³the hony fro the hyue The honey is
 gone from the
 hive of my spirit.
 Of my spirit withdrawith wondir blyue; 257
 Whan al is doon / al this worldes swetnesse
 At ende torneth in-to bittirnesse.⁴ 259

(38)

"The fool, thurgh loue of this lyf present, ¶ Nulliter inulpiens
 vite presentis amore
 &c.
 Deceyued is / but the wys man woot weel
 How ful this world of sorwe is, and torment; The world is full
 of sorrow.
 Wherefore in it / he trustith nat a deel:
 Thogh a man this day / sitte hye on the wheel, 264
 To morwe he may be tryced from his sete;
 This hath be seen often / among the grete. 266

(39)

"How fair thyng / or how precious it be 267 Fair things are
 like flowers,
 þat in the world is / it is lyk' a flour,
 To whom / nature yeuen hath beautee
 Of fresþ heewe / and of ful plesant colour;
 With soote smellynge also, and odour; 271
 But as soone as it is bicomen drye,
 farwel colour / and the smel gynneth⁵ dye. 273 and soon lose
 their colour and
 scent.

¹ now hastip ² sentement³ A later hand (? Stowe's) has written 'then' over the line as if it were left out.⁴ 'tornithe in to bittirnesse, is repeated below in a later hand.⁵ A later hand writes 'be'gynneth 'to.' At foot: 'hongrie men seem diyures,' &c.

(40)

[leaf 13, back]
Majesty passes
like a tree's
shadow.

" Rial might and eerthely magestee, 274
Welthe of the world / and longe & faire dayes,
Passen / as dooth the shadwe of a tree ;
Whan deeth is come / ther be no delayes ;
The worldes trust is brotil¹ at assayes ; 278
The wyse men / wel knowen this is sooth,
They knowen / what deceit to man it dooth. 280

(41)

Property is lent
us for a time ;

but Death soon
deprives us of it.

" Lond / rente / cattel / gold / honour / richesse, 281
þat for a tyme lent been to been ouris,
fforgo we shole / sonner than we gesse.
Paleses / Maners / Castels grete & touris
Shal vs bireft be / by deeth þat ful sour is ; 285
Shee is the rogh besom / which shal vs aH
Sweepe out of this world / whan god list it faH. 287

(42)

Isn't it wise to
provide against
Death ?

" And syn þat shee shal of vs make an ende, 288
Holsum is, hir' haue ofte in remembrance,
Or shee hir messenger seeknesse vs sende.
¶ Now, my freend / so good yeue yow good chaunce,
Is it nat good to make a purucance 292
Ageyn the comynge of þat messageer,
That we may stande in conscience cleer ?" 294

(43)

[leaf 14]
* Yes, Thomas
Hocceleve ;
but your brain is
weak.

¶ ' yis, Thomas, yis / thow hast a good entente,² 295
But thy werk / hard is to parfourme, I dreede ;
Thy brayn, par cas / ther-to nat wole assente,
And wel thow woost / it moot assente neede
Or thow aboute brynge swich a deede : 299
Now in good feith / I rede as for the beste,
þat purpos caste out of thy myndes cheste. 301

¹ *brotil*, first.

² Iohan Medwell, *Master* my lord Chamberlain, . . . per prise
[at top]. Also, later, 'W. Browne.' At foot, 'Thomas Carterys.'

(44)

- 'Thy bisy studie aboute swich mateere 302 'Your writing
 Hath causid thee / to stirte in-to the plyt has made you
 That thou werv in / as fer as I can heere ; crackt again.
 And thogh thou deeme / thou be there-of qwyte /
 Abyde / and thy purpos putte in respyt 306 'Stop work till
 Til þat right wel stablisshid be thy brayn ; your brain's
 And ther-to thanne / I wole assente fayn. 308 right.'

(45)

- 'Thogh a strong fyr / þat was in an herth late, 309
 Withdrawen be / and swept away ful cleene /
 yit aftirward / bothe the herth and plate
 Been of the fyr warm / thogh no fyr be seene
 There as þat it was / and right so I meene : 313
 Al-though past be the grete of thy seeknesse /
 yit lurke in thee may sum of hir warmnesse.' 315

(46)

- ¶ "O, what is yow, freend / benedicitee ? 316 [leaf 14, back]
 Right now, whan I yow redde my 'conpleynte,' Hoccleve re-
 Made it nat mynde / it standith wel with me ? proaches his
 Myn herte with your speeche gynneth feynte. friend :
 Shuld we be now / al neewe to aqweynte, 320 I told you I was
 þat han so wel aqweynted be ful yore ? well.
 What / han yee now lerned a neewe lore ? 322

(47)

- "Han yee lerned / your freend for to mis-truste 323 Why do you
 And to his wordes / yeue no credence ? mistrust me ?
 If your frendshipe cancre so and ruste,
 Sore wole it trouble myn innocence,
 þat ay yow holden haue in existence 327
 A verray freend / certes, sore am I greeued,
 That yee nat leue / how god me hath releued.¹ 329

¹ Later, in margin: 'Ryght worshipfull Fa.' At foot,
 'Hereof se . . . Thomas C.'

(48)

	"Who so nat leueth / what þat a man seith,	330
	Is signe þat he trustith him but lyte.	
A true friend trusts his friend.	A verray freend yeueth credence & feith	
	Vn-to his freend / what so he speke & wryte.	
	ffrendshipes lawe / nat worth wer' a myte,	334
	If þat vntryst / vn-to it wer' annexid ;	
	Vntrust ha' · many a wight ful sore vexid.	336

(49)

[leaf 15]	"I with my seluen made foreward,	337
	Whan with the knotte of frendshipe I me knytte	
I vowe to stick to you.	Vn-to yow, þat I neuere aftirward	
	Fro þat hy bond departe wolde, or flitte ;	
	Which keepe I wole ay / o, your wordes sitte	341
	Ny to myn herte / and thogh yee me nat loue,	
	My loue fro yow / shal ther no wight shoue.	343

(50)

Tully says that Friendship lasts for ever.	"Tullius seith / þat frendshipe verray	344
	Endurith euere / how-so men it assaiñ ;	
	ffrendshipe is noon / to loue wel this day,	
	Or yeeres outhir / and aftirward faiñ.	
	A freend to freend / his payne & his trauaiñ	348
	Dooth ay / frendshipe to keepe & conserue	
	Til dethes strook' þat bond a-sondir kerue.	350

(51)

Solomon says so too.	"To this matir accordith Salomon—	351
	yee knowe it bet than I by many fold :	
	Ones freend / and holde euere ther vp-on.	
	In your frendshipe wer' a slipir hold,	
	If it abate wolde and wexe cold,	355
	þat vn-to now hath been bothe hoot & warm ;	
	To yow wer' it reпреf / and to me harm.	357

(52)

- " If þat me list in this mateere dwell,¹ 358 [leaf 15, back]
 And it along / for to drawe and dilate,
 Auctoritees an heep, kowde I yow tell
 Of frendshipe / but stynte I moot algate, But I'll stop
 Or elles wole it be ful longe & late 362 talking,
 Or I haue endid my purposid werk',
 ffor feeble is my conceit, & dul & derk'. 364

(53)

- " But as þat I seide eer / and sooth it is, 365
 My sclendre wit feele I as sad and stable tho' my mind is
 As euere it was at any tyme or this : as firm as ever it
 Thankid be our lord Ihesu merciable!" was.
 '¶ Yit, Thomas, herkne a word, and be souffrable, 369 Hoccleue's friend.
 And take nat my speeche in displesance; Thomas,
 In me shalt thou fynde no variance. 371 you shall find no
 changing in me.

(54)

- ' I am thy freend / as þat I haue ay been, 372 I am your friend.
 And euere wole / doute it nat al,
 But truste wel, it is but seelden seen
 þat any wight / þat caghit hath swich a fal
 As thy seeknesse was / þat aftir shal 376
 Be of swich disposicioun and might
 As he was erst / and so seith euery wight. 378

(55)

- ' Of studie was engendred thy seeknesse,² 379 [leaf 16]
 And þat was hard / woldest [thow] now agayn Your illness came
 Entre into þat laborious bisynesse, from overstudy.
 Syn it thy mynde and eek thy wit had slayn ?
 Thy conceit is nat worth a payndemayn : 383
 Let be / let be/ bisye thee so no more,
 Lest thou repente / and reewe it ouersore. 385 Don't be silly
 enough to do it
 again.

¹ Later, in margin : 'Is the same ene (?) . . . he me life in.'

² In a later hand at top : 'per me peter hardy of halyfax' ;
 then, rubd out, 'ows this bok.'

(56)

	' My reed proceedith nat of froward wil,	386
	But it is seid of verray freendly-hede	
	ffor if so-causid seeknesse on me fil	
	As dide on the: right euene as I thee rede,	
	So wolde I do my self / it is no drede ;	390
Solomon bids you do as you're advised.	And Salomon bit / aftir conseil do ;	
	And good is it / conforme thee ther-to.	392

(57)

	' He þat hath ones in swich plyt y-fall,	393
	But he wol rule him / may in slippen eft :	
	This rede I thee / for aght þat may befall,	
As God has cured your sickness, avoid its cause.	Syn þat seeknesse god hath theo byrefte,	
	The cause eschue / for it is good left,	397
	Namely, thyng of thoghtful studie kaght,	
	Perillous is / as þat hath me been taght.	399

(58)

[leaf 16, back]	¶ ' Right as a theef þat hath eschapid ones ¹	400
	The roop / no dreede hath eft his art to vse,	
	Til þat the trees him weye vp, body and bones,	
	So looth is him / his sory craft refuse /	
You love to pore on your books.	Sa farest thou / ioie hastow for to muse	404
	Vp-on thy book' / and ther-in stare & poure,	
	Til þat it thy wit / consume and deuoure.	406

(59)

	' I can no more / the latter' errour'	407
	Wers is, rede I / than þat þat was beforn ;	
	The smert of studie / oghite be mirour'	
Give up your studies.	To thee / let yit thy studie be forborn.	
	Haue of my wordes / no desdeyn or scorn ;	411
	ffor þat I seye / of freendly tendernesse	
	I seye it al / as wisly god me blesse.	413

¹ Written up the side in a later hand :
Know er thou kynt [knyt, p. 152], and then thou mayst slake ;
If thou knynt er thou know, then hytt ys to late. (See p. 152.)

(60)

- ' If thee nat list vp-on thy self to reewe, 414 *If you won't take
pity on yourself,
who will?*
Thomas, who shal reewe vpon thee, I preye?
Now do foorth, let see / and thyn harm reeneue;
And heuyer' / shal it peise and weye
Than it dide eer / ther-to my lyf I leye, 418
Which thee wolde ouer mochil harme & greeue.'
" ffreend, as to þat / answer' I shal by leeue.¹ 420 *Hocceve answers.*

(61)

- " Where-as þat yee deemen of me, and trowe 421 *[leaf 17]
My insanity*
That y of studie my diseise took',—
Which conceit eek' / among the peple is sowe /—
Trustith right wel / þat neuere studie in book' *did not come from
book-study,* 425
Was cause / why my mynde me forsook'
But it² was causid of my long seeknesse,
And othir wyse nat / in soothfastnesse. 427 *bnt from my long
illness.*

(62)

- " And for-thy neuere aftir this / preye y yow, 428
Deemeth no more so / ne nat it mynge.
That men kneew I had seeknesse / is ynow, *I don't care that
folk should know
about it.*
Thogh they make of the cause no serchyng; 432
Ther cometh but smal fruyt of swich deemyng.
To yow told haue I treewely the cause;
Now let vs stynten heer' / & make a pause. 434 *Let's drop it.*

(63)

- " In this keepe I no replicacioun; 435
It is nat worth / the labour is in veyn;
Shal no stiryng or excitacioun
Lette me of this labour, in certeyn.
Trustith wel this pourpos is nat sodeyn; 439 *As to my intended
work,*
Vp-on my wittes stithie hath it be bete *I've thought
about it long,*
Many a day / of this no lenger trete.³ 441

¹ Later scribbles at foot: 'William . . thi . . nunny ny,' &c.² MS. is.³ Later, at foot: 'Lord, Haue merce upon all cresten solles . .
John taler . . sone frome the beg', &c.

(64)

[leaf 17, back]	<p>"I haue a tyme resonable abide Or that I thoghte in this laboure me ; And al to preeue my self, I so dide : A man in his conceit / may serchee & see</p>	442
for 5 years.	<p>In .v^e. yeer / what he do may, pardee, And aftir þat take vp-on him, and do Or leue / reson accordith heer-to."</p>	446 448

(65)

<p><i>Hocceleue's Friend.</i> Thomas, you're not wise to follow your own judg- ment instead of mine.</p>	<p>¶ 'O Thomas, holdist thou it a prudence, Reed, weyue, and wirke aftir thyn owne wit ? Seide y nat eer / þat Salomons sentence To do by reed / and by Conseil, men bit ; And thou desdeynest / for to folwen it. What art thou now / presumptuous become, And list nat of thy mis / been vndirnome ?'</p>	449 453 455

(66)

<p><i>Hocceleue.</i> Vnus sit tibi consiliarius inter mille</p>	<p>¶ "Nay, freend / nat so / yee woot well, elles-where Salomon bit / 'oon be thy Conseillour Among a .Ml.' and if þat yee were As constant as yee han been or this hour,</p>	457
	<p>By yow wolde I be red / but swich errour In your conceit I feele now, sanz faille, That in this cas yee can nat wel consaiH.¹</p>	460 462

(67)

[leaf 18]	<p>"ffor god woot / a blynd Counseillour is he Which þat conseilte shal in a mateere, If of a soothe / him list nat lerned be ; And euene swich oon fynde I now nowheere.²</p>	463
<p>I've told you plainly how I stand.</p>	<p>I pleyntly told yow haue, the maneere How þat it with me standen hath / and stant ; But of your trust to me ward, be ye scant.</p>	467 469

¹ In the begynnynng god be my speade wythe grace & vertu
[later, at bottom]. ² MS. now heere.

(68)

- "Han yee aghē herd of me in *communynge*, 470
 Wherthurgh yee oghēn deeme of me amis?
 Hauē I nat seid reson / to your thynkygne?"
 ¶ 'ffor soothe, Thomas / to my conceit / yis;
 But euere I am agast, & dreede this, 474
 Thy wit is nat so mighty to susteene
 That labour / as thow thy self woldest weene.' 476
- Haven't I spoken
 reason?
Hoccleve's friend.

 Yee; but your
 mind won't bear
 this new work.

(69)

- "ffrend, as to þat, he lyueth nat þat can 477
 Knowe / how it standith with an othir wight,
 So wel as him self / al-thogh many a man
 Take on him more / than lyth in his might
 To knowe / þat man is nat ruled right 481
 þat so presumeth in his iugement:
 Beforn the doom / good wer' auisament." 483
- Hoccleve.*
 Who can judge
 a man's state as
 well as he him-
 self?

(70)

- ¶ 'Now, Thomas / by the feith I to god owe, 484
 Had I nat taastid thee / as þat I now
 Doon haue / it had been hard, maad me to trowe
 The good plyt / which I feele wel þat thow
 Art in / I woot wel thow art wel ynow, 488
 What-so men of thee ymagyne or clappe,
 Now haue I god, me thynkith, by the lappe. 490
- Hoccleve's friend.*
 [leaf 18, back]
 Well, Thomas,
 I've tested you,
 and believe you
 are fit.

(71)

- 'But al so hertly / as I can or may, 491
 Syn þat thow wilt to þat labour thee dresse,
 I preye thee / in al mancere way
 Thy wittes to conserue / in hir fresshnesse;
 Whan thow ther-to goost / take of hem the lesse; 495
 To muse longe / in an hard mateere,
 The wit of man abieth it ful decre.' 497
- And, as you will,
 write,

 keep your wits
 fresh,

 and don't work at
 too hard a subject.

(72)

<i>Hocceve.</i>	¶ "ffreend, I nat medle of matires grete ;	498
My brains won't stretch to that.	Ther-to nat strecche may myn intellect ;	
	I neuere yit was brent with studies hete ;	
	Let no man holde me ther-in suspect :	
If I can't do my work easily, I shall shut my book.	If I lightly / nat cacche may theeffect	502
	Of thyng' in which / laboure I me purpose,	
	A dien my studie / anoon my book' I close.	504

(73)

[leaf 19] I shall write by starts, as the fancy takes me, and stop when it slacks.	" By stirtes / whan þat a fressh lust me takith,	505
	Wole I me bisye now and now a lyte ;	
	But whan þat my lust dullith and asslakith,	
	I styute wole / and no lenger wryte ;	
	And pardee, freend / þat may nat hyndre a myte,	509
	As þat it seemeth to my symple auys ;	
	Iugeth your self / yee been prudent and wys."	511

(74)

<i>Hocceve's friend.</i>	¶ 'Sikir, Thomas / if thow do in swich wyse	512
Then I'm content.	As þat thow seist / I am ful wel content	
	þat thow vp-on thee take þat empyse	
	Which þat thow has purposed and y-ment ;	
	Vn-to þat ende / yeue y myn assent,	516
Set to work, in Christ's name.	Go now ther-to / in Ihesu Crystes name ;	
	And as thow haast me seid / do thou þat same.	518

(75)

	' I am seur þat thy disposicioun	519
	Is swich / þat thow maist more take on hoonde	
	Than I first wende in myn oppinioun,	
	By many fold / thankid be goddes soonde !	
	Do forth in goddes name / & nat ne woonde	523
Compose and write what you like.	To make and wryte / what thyng þat thee list :	
	þat I nat eer kneew / now is to me wist.	525

¹ Later scribble at top : 'Thomas . . Tomas Gairdynnayr' (!).

(76)

- ' And of o thyng / now wel I me remembre, 526 [leaf 19, back]
 Why thow purposist in this book trauaill:
 I trowe þat in the monthe of Septembre
 Now last, or nat fer from / it is no faill,—
 No force of the time¹ / it shal nat auail 530
 To my mateer' / ne it hyndre or lette,—
 Thow seidist / of a book' thow wer' in dette 532

But didn't you say
 that you owd a
 book

(77)

- ' Vn-to my lord / þat now is lieutenant, 533
 My lord of Gloucestre / is it nat so?'
 ¶ "Yis soothly, freend / and as by couenant
 He sholde han had it many a day ago;
 But seeknesse and vnlust / and othir mo 537
 Han be the causes of impediment."
 ¶ 'Thomas / than this book' haast thow to him ment?'

Hoccleve.
 Yee, and he ought
 to have had it
 long ago.

(78)

- ¶ "Yee sikir, freend, ful treewe is your deemyng; 540
 ffor him it is / þat I this book' shal make.
 As blyue as þat I herde of his comyng
 ffro ffrance / I penne and ynke gan to take,
 And my spirit I made to awake, 544
 þat longe lurkid hath in ydilnesse
 ffor any swich labour or bisynesse. 546

My new book is
 meant for him.
 As soon as I heard
 of his coming
 ¶ scilicet de
 secundo reditu
 suo de ffrancia
 from France, I
 took pen and ink.

(79)

- "But of sum othir thyng / fayn trete I wolde, 547
 My noble lordes herte / with / to glade,
 As ther-to bownden am I deepe, & holde;
 On swich mateere / by god þat me made,
 Wolde I bestowe many a balade, 551
 Wiste I what / good freend / tell on what is best,
 Me for to make / and folwe it am I prest. 553

[leaf 20]
 But I'd like to
 write something
 to gladden him
 with.

¹ MS thine; but this is surely a writing mistake.
 HOCCLEVE, M.P.—II.

(80)

Next to our King Henry V.,	"Next our lord lige, our kyng victorious,	554
	In al this wyde world / lord is ther noon	
no lord has been so good to me for years as the Duke.	Vn-to me so good ne so gracious,	
	And haath been swich / yeeres ful many oon :	
	God yilde it him / as sad as any stoon	558
	His herte set is / and nat change can	
	ffro me, his humble seruant & his man.	560

(81)

I thought of englishing for him Vegetius on <i>Chivalry</i> ,	"ffor him I thoghte han translated Vegece	561
	Which tretith of the art of Chialrie,	
	But I see his Knyghthode so encrece,	
	pat no thyng my labour sholde edifie,	
but he knows it all.	ffor he pat art / wel can for the maistrie.	565
	Beyonde, he preeued hath his worthynesse,	
Cherbourg bears witnesse to his valour.	And among othre / Chirburgh to witnesse.	567

(82)

[leaf 20, back]	"This worthy Prynce lay before pat hold	568
He besieged it	Which was ful strong / at seege many a day,	
	And thens for to departe hath he nat wold,	
	But knyghtly ther abood / vp-on his pray	
and won it.	Til he by force it wan / it is no nay.	572
	Duc henri, pat so worthy was and good,	
	ffolwith this Prince / as wel in deede as blood.	574

(83)

	¶ "Or he to Chirburgh cam / in iourneyynge, ¹	575
And before, he won Constantine.	Of Constantyn he wan the cloos and yle,	
	ffor which / laude and honour and hy preysynge	
	Rewarden him / and qwyten him his whyle.	
	Thogh he beforn pat had a worthy style,	579
	yit of noble renoun is pat encrees :	
He is a famous Prince.	He is a famous Prince / doutelees !	581

¹ Chirburgh, in John Stowe's hand, in the margin.

(84)

- "ffor to reherce or tell in special 582 I cannot relate all
 Every act þat his sward / in steel wroot there,
 And many a place / elles I woot nat al;
 And thogh every act come had to myn ere,
 To yepresse¹ hem / my spirit wolde han fere, 586
 Lest I his thank' par chaunce mighte abregge
 Thurgh vnkonnynge / if I hem sholde allegge. 588

(85)

- " But this I seye / he callid^t is Humfrey 589 [leaf 21]
 Conueniently, as þat it seemeth me, He is well named
 ffor this conceit is in myn herte al-wey, 'Humfrey,'
 Bataillous Mars / in his natiuitee
 Vn-to þat name / of verray specialtee 593
 Titled him / makynge him ther-by promesse
 þat strecche he sholde in-to hy worthynesse; 595

(86)

- " ffor humfrey / as vn-to myn intellect, 596 for that means
 'Man, make I shal' / in englissh is to seye;² 'I shall make a
 And þat byheeste / hath taken treewe effect, man,'
 As the commune fame / can bywrewe :
 Who-so his worthy knyghthode / can weye 600 and Common
 Duely in his conceites balaunce, Fame says he
 Ynow hath / wher-of his renoun enhaunce. 602 is one.

(87)

- " To cronicle his actes / wer' a good deede, 603 It would be a
 ffor they ensaumple mighte, and encorage good deed to
 fful many a man / for to taken heede chronicle his
 How for to gouerne hem in the vsage feats, to encourage
 Of armes / it is a greet auantage other men. 607

¹ For 'expresse'?

² Humfrey, quasi 'homme feray' [in margin] ? in a 17th-Century hand. Other scribble: 'John, Thomas . . John . . I winsayn bene . . as . . so p ff H Hon . . Ar mo . . stoke . . gingen . . Wiylyam.'

A man before him / to haue a mirour,
Ther-in to see the path vn-to honour. 609

(88)

[leaf 21, back] " O lord / whan he cam to the seege of Roon 610
At the sieg
of Rouen,
ffro Chirburgh / whether fere or cowardlyse,
So ny the walles / made him for to goon
Of the town / as he dide? I nat souffyse
To telle yow / in how knyghtly a wyse 614

Duke Humfrey
did knightly.
He logged him ther / and how worthyly
He baar him / what / he is al knyght soothly. 616

(89)

¶ " Now, good freend / shoue at the cart, I yow preye;
What thyng may I make vn-to his plesance? 618
Withouten your reed / noot I what to seye."

¶ ' O / no, pardee, Thomas / o. no, ascañnce.'
¶ " No, certein, freend / as now no cheuissance 621

Can I; your conseil is to me holsum;
As I truste in yow, mynystreth me sum." 623

(90)

¶ ' Wel Thomas / trowest thou his hy noblesse 624
Nat rekke / what mateere þat it be
He cares only for
proper things.
þat thou shalt make of?' ¶ " no, freend, as I gesse,
So þat it be mateere of honestee."

¶ ' Thomas, and thanne I wole auyse me; 628
ffor who-so reed & conseil yeue shal,
May nat on heed / foorth renne ther-with-al. 630

(91)

[leaf 22] ' And þat¹ so noble a Prince, namely, 631
So excellent / worthy and honourable,
Shal haue / needith good anys soothly,
þat it may be plesant and agreable

Hocceleue's friend.
You must write
on a worthy
topic.
To his noblesse / it is nat couenable 635
To wryte to a prince so famous,
But it be good mateer and vertuons. 637

¹ What poem.

(92)

'Thow woost wel / who shal an hous edifie,	¶ Si quis habet fundare domum, non currit ad actum.	No one begins to build a house without advice.
Gooth nat ther-to withoute auisement,		
If he be wys, for with his mental ye		
ffirst is it seen / pourposid / cast & ment,	¶ Impetuous manus, &c.	
How it shal wroght been / elles al is shent.	642	
Certes, for the deffaute of good forsighte,		
Mis-tyden thynges / þat wel tyde mighte.	644	

(93)

'This may been vn-to thee / in thy makynge	645	
A good mirour / thow wilt nat haaste, I trowe,		
Vn-to thy penne / and ther-with wirke heedlynge,		You mustn't write without taking thought, and getting advice.
Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe	648	
What thow shalt wryte / o, Thomas / many a throwe		
Smertith the fool / for lak' of good ays;		
But no wight hath it smerted þat is wys;	651	

(94)

'ffor wel is he waar / or he wryte or speke,	652	[leaf 22, back]
What is to do or leue / Who by prudence		
Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke		
Hastily ne of rakil negligence.'		
¶ "ffreend, þat is sooth / o / now your assistance	656	True, friend, says Hoccleve, advise me.
And help / what I shal make, I now byseeche;		
In your wys conceit / serche yee & seeche."	658	

(95)

¶ He a long tyme in a studie stood,	659	
And aftir þat, thus tolde he his entente :		
¶ 'Thomas, sauf better ays, I holde it good,		Hoccleve's friend, Thomas, as it's now Lent,
Syn now the holy seson is of lente		
In which it sit euery man him repente	663	
Of his offense / and of his wikkidnesse /		
Be heuy of thy gilt / and the confesse,	665	repent and confess your sins,

(96)

and make amends for them.	' And satisfaccion do thow for it.	666
You've often blamed women;	Thow woost wel / on wommen, greet wyt ¹ & lak' Ofte haast thow put / be waar / lest thow be qwit.	
have written a quarter-sack of words against them, that they've not forgiven or forgotten.	Thy wordes fille wolde a quarter sak, ² Which thow in whyt / depeynted haast with blak'; In hir repreef, mochil thyng haast thow write, That they nat foryeue haue / ne foryite.	672

(97)

[leaf 23] Now write in praise of them.	' Sumwhat now wryte in honour & preysynge Of hem / so maist thow do correccioun Sumdel of thyn offense and mis-berynge. Thow art cleene out of hir' affeccioun; Now syn it is in thyn eleccioun Whethir thee list / hir loue ageyn purchase, Or stonde as thow doost / out of loue & grace /	673 677 679
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(98)

It wants craft and art to please women.	' Bewar, rede I / cheese the better part. Truste wel this / wommen been felt and wyse; Hem for to plesse / lyth greet craft & art. Wher no fyr maad is / may no smoke aryse; But thow haast ofte / if thow thee wel auyse, Maad smoky brondes / and for al þat gilt, yit maist thow stonde in grace / if þat thow wilt.	680 684 686
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(99)

you'll confess your guilt,	' By buxum herte & by submission To hir graces / yilding the coupable / Thow pardon maist haue, & remission And do vn-to hem plesance greable. To make partie / art thow nothyng able; Humble thy goost / be nat sturdy of herte; Better than thow art / han they maad to smerte.	687 691 693
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¹ *wylt*, blame; not *wit*, the little brain that Hoccleve had.² A sack that holds a quarter (being a double sack), = a lot of words.—T. Austin.

(100)

'The wyf of Bathe, take I for auctrice	694	[leaf 23, back] Chaucer's Wife of Bath says women don't like men to make them out vicious.
þat wommen han no ioie ne deyntee		
þat men sholde vp-on hem putte any vice ;		
I woot wel so / or lyk' to þat, seith shee.		
By wordes writen / Thomas, yilde thee ;	698	
Euene as thou by scripture hem haast offendid,		As you've offend- ed ein by writing,
Right so / let it be by wrytynge amendid.'	700	now make amends by it.

(101)

¶ " fireend / thogh I do so / what lust or pleisir	701	
Shal my lord haue in þat / noon / thynkith me."		
¶ ' Yis, Thomas, yis / his lust and his desir		The Duke likes
Is / as it wel sit / to his hy degree,		
ffor his desport / & mirthe in honestee,	705	dalliance with ladies. He'll show em your book,
With ladyes / to haue dalliance :		
And this book' / wole he shewen hem par chance.	707	

(102)

' And syn he thy good lord is / he be may	708	
ffor thee swich mene / þat the lightlyere		
Shuln they foryeue thee / putte in assay		and get you their forgiveness.
My conseil / let see / nat shal it thee dere ;		
So wolde I doon / if in thy plyt I were.	712	
Leye hond on thy breest / if thou wilt so do,		
Or leue / I can no more seyn ther-to.	714	

(103)

¶ ' But thogh to wommen thou thyn herte bowe,	715	[leaf 24]
Axyng hir graces / with greet repentance		
ffor thy gyltes / thee wole I nat allowe		
To take on thee swich rule and gouernance		But you mustn't put yourself under women's rule.
As they thee rede wolde / for greuance	719	
So greet / ther folwe mighte of it, par cas,		
That thou repente it sholdest ay, Thomas.	721	

(104)

Eve beguiled
Adam, and the
serpent her.

But God said
Eve should break
the serpent's
head.

¶ 'Adam begyled was with Eeues reed, ¶ *Genesie Alt domi-*
And sikir so was shee by the Serpent, *nus ad serpentem /*
To whom god seide / "this womman thyn heed *ip̄a conteret caput*
Breke shal / for thurgh thyn enticement *taum, &c.*
Shee hath y-broken my commandement." 726
Now, syn womman had of the feend swich might;
To breke a mannes¹ heed / it seemeth likht. 728

(105)

So let no husband
feel shame if his
wife break his
head.

'ffor why, let noon housbonde / thynke it shame 729
Ne repreef vn-to him / ne vilenye,
Thogh his wyf do to him pat selue same.
Hir reson axith haue of men maistrie 732
Thogh holy writ witnesse and testifie ¶ *Eodem capitulo /*
Men sholde of hem han dominacioun, *Sub viri potestate eris /*
It is the reuers in probacioun. *& ip̄e dominabitur tui*
735

(106)

[leaf 24, back]
Hang up your
hatchet, and sit
down.

How do you and
your wife get on?

Hoccleve.
She wouldn't
like me to tell
you.

'Hange vp his hachet / & sette him adoun ;² 736
ffor wommen wole assente in no maneere
Vn-to pat poynt / ne pat conclusioun.
¶ Thomas / how is it twixt thee & thy feere ? 739
¶ "Wel, wel, *quod* I / what list yow ther-of heere ?
My wyf mighte haue hokir & greet desdeyn
If I sholde in swich cas / pleye a soleyn." 742

(107)

Hoccleve's friend.
If you want to
live in ease,

take patiently
all that women
say.

¶ 'Now Thomas / if thee list to lyue in ese, 743
Prolle aftir wommennes beneuolence.
Thogh it be dangerous / good is hem plesse,
ffor hard is it / to renne in hir offense.
What so they seyn / take al in pacience. 747
Bette art thou nat / than thy fadres before,
Thomas, han been / be right wel waar therfore.' 749

¹ Why is a man's head easier to break than a serpent's?

² Compare the *Wife of Bath's Prolog and Tale*.

(108)

- ¶ "ffrend, hard it is / wommen to greeue, I grante ;
 But what haue I agilt / for him þat dyde, 751
 Nat haue I doon why / dar I me auante,
 Out of wommennes graces slippe or slyde."
 ¶ 'Yis, Thomas, yis / in thepistle of Cupyde 754
 Thow haast of hem / so largeliche said,
 That they been swart wrooth / & ful euele apaid.' 756
- In your
 'Epistle of Cupid'
 [in Stowe's hand]
 you've abused
 'em, and they're
 angry with you.

(109)

- ¶ "ffrend / doutelees sumwhat ther is ther-in 757 [leaf 25]
 þat sowneth but right smal to hir honour ;
 But as to þat / now, for your fadir kyn,
 Considereth / ther-of / was I noon Auctour ;
 I nas in þat cas / but a reportour 761
 Of folkes tales / as they seide / I wroot :
 I nat affermed it on hem / god woot ! 763
- Hoooleve.
 But I didn't write
 that myself.
- I only reported
 other folks' tales.

(110)

- " Who so þat shal reherce a mannes sawe, 764
 As þat he seith / moot he seyn & nat varie,¹
 ffor, and he do / he dooth ageyn the lawe
 Of trouthe / he may tho wordes nat contrarie.
 Who-so þat seith 'I am hir' Aduersarie, 768
 And dispreise hir condicions and port,
 ffor þat I made of hem swich a report,' / 770
- Whoever reports
 a man's sayings,
 must write what
 he said.
- And if any one
 says I run down
 women because I
 reported things
 of 'em in my
 'Cupid,'

(111)

- " He mis-ayused is / and eek to blame. 771
 Whan I it spak' / I spak compleynyngly ;
 I to hem thoghte no repreef ne shame.
 What world is this / how vndirstande am I ? 774
 Looke in the same book' / what stikith by ?
 Who so lookith aright / ther-in may see
 þat they me oghthen haue in greet cheertee, 777
- I didn't reprove
 'em.
- On the contrary,
 Women ought to
 hold me dear,

¹ This is Chaucer's excuse for telling his naughty Tales.

(112)

[leaf 25, back]
or I don't know
what's what.

"And elles / woot I neuere what is what. 778

The book' concludith for hem / is no nay,
Vertuously / my good freend / dooth it nat?"

¶ 'Thomas, I noot / for neuere it yit I say.'

"No, freen '!" ¶ 'no, Thomas' / ¶ "Wel trowe I,
in fay, 782

If you'd read it
you'd confess
your mistake.

ffor had yee red it fully to the ende,
yee wolde seyn / it is nat as yee wende." 784

(113)

Hoccleve's friend.
'Well, Thomas,
do as I bid you;
please the women.

'Thomas / how so it be / do as I seide : 785

Syn it displesith hem / amendes make.

If þat some of hem thee ther-of vpbreide,

Thow shalt be bisy ynow, I vndirtake,

Thy kut to keepe / now I thee bytake 789

God send you
their love!

To god / for I moot needes fro thee weende :
The love and thank' of wommen / god thee seende !

(114)

Now and then I
shall visit you
before your
book's done,

'Among, I thynke thee for to visyte 792

Or þat thy book' fully finisshid be,

ffor looth me were / thow sholdest aght wryte

Wherthurgh / thow mightest gete any maugree ;

and see that you
don't write any-
thing to annoy
women.'

And for þat cause / I wole it ouerse ; 796

And, Thomas / now a dieu & fare weel ;

Thow fynde me shalt / al so treewe as steel.' 798

(115)

[leaf 26]
When my friend
was gone,

Whan he was goon / I in myn herte dredde 799

Stonde out of wommennes beneuolence ;

And to fulfille þat / þat he me redde,

I resolv'd to work
to win women's
love.

I shoop me do my peyne and diligence

To wynne hir loue by obedience. 803

Thogh I my wordes can nat wel portreie /

Lo, heer the fourme / how I hem obeye. 805

(116)

- | | | |
|---|-----|------------------|
| ¶ My ladyes all / as wisly god me blesse, | 806 | But, ladies, |
| Why þat yee meened been / can I nat knowe ; | | |
| My gilt cam neuere yit to the ripnesse, | | |
| Al-thogh yee for your fo / me deeme & trowe ; | | tho' you think |
| But I your frend be / byte me the crowe ! | 810 | me your foe, I'm |
| I am al othir to yow / than yee weene ; | | your friend, or |
| By my wrytynge / hath it, & shal be, scene. | 812 | else may the |
| | | Crow bite me ! |

(117)

- | | | |
|---|-----|----------------------|
| But natheless / I lowly me submitte | 813 | |
| To your bontees / as fer as they han place | | |
| In yow / vn-to me, wrecche, it may wel sitte | | Still, I'll beg your |
| To axe pardoun / thogh I nat trespase ; | | pardon tho' I've |
| Leuer is me / with pitous cheere & face, | 817 | never harmed you. |
| And meek spirit, do so / than open werre | | |
| yee make me / & me putte atte werre. ¹ | 819 | |

(118)

- | | | |
|--|-----|--------------------|
| A tale eek / which I in the Romayn deedis | 820 | [leaf 25, back 1] |
| Now late sy / in honur & plesance | | And, to please |
| Of yow, my ladyes /—as I moot needis, | | you, ladies, |
| Or take my way / for fere in-to ffrance,— | | |
| Thogh I nat shapen be / to prike or prafice,— | 824 | |
| Wole I translate / and þat shal pourge, I hope, | | I'll english you a |
| My gilt / as cleene / as keuerchiefs dooth sope. | 826 | tale from the |
| | | <i>Gesta Roma-</i> |
| | | <i>norum</i> . |

¹ At foot, in a later hand : 'Hyharie' (?).

² Per me gabriell curtys [in a later hand at top].

[For various readings from *MS Reg. 17 D 6*, see p. 243.]

XXII.

ffabula de quadam Imperatrice Romana.

(1)

The *Gesta Romanorum* says
the Emperor
Jereslaus

wedded the fair
daughter of the
King of Hungary,

In the Romain actes written is thus : 1
Whitom an Emperour in the Citee
Of Roome regned, clept Iereslaus,
Which, his noble estat & hy dignitee
Gouerned wysly ; & weddid had he 5
The doghtir of the kyng of Vngarie,
A fair lady / to euery mannes ye. 7

(2)

a virtuous and
merciful woman.

And for þat beautee in womman, allone 8
Withouten bontee, is nat commendable,
Shee was ther-to / a vertuous persone,
And specially pitous & merciable
In all hir werkis / which ful couenable 12
And pertinent is / vn-to wommanhede :
Mercy causith / good renou fer to sprede.¹ 14

(3)

[leaf 27]
Jereslaus resolves

to go to the Holy
Land.

Now in my tale fourth wole I proceede : 15
As þat this Emperour in his bed lay
Vp-on a nyght / a thoght gan in him breede,
Vn-to the holy land / to take his way ;
And on the morwe / left² lenger delay, 19
His wyf and his brothir / he made appeere
Before him / and hem seide in this maneere : 21

(4)

He tells his wife.

" My deere wyf / myn hertes ioie and hele, 22
þat thyng þat stablisshid in myn herte is,
I can nat hyde fro thee / ne concele,
Ne nat ne wole / and shortly it is this :
Vn-to the holy lond / I wole ywis ; 26

¹ b b b h h h Thomas kyngston hath Rede this gudly
boke [in a later hand at the bottom of the page]. ² ! MS. lest.

And for thy / make I thee principally
Of al thempyre / me absent / 'lady,'

28 He makes his
wife "Lady" of
the Empire,

(5)

"Bytakynge and committynge vn-to thee,
Of peple and land / the charge special ;
And vndir thee / my brothir heer shal be
Steward of it / to rule & gouerne al
That to me and my peple, greet & smal,
Profitable is / by Conseil & assent
Algate of thee / and thyn auysament.¹

29 with charge of the
folk and land ;

and his brother
"Steward," to
rule all

33

by her advice.

35

(6)

"Al-thogh the thynke / this purpos sodeyn,
Yit be nat heuy / but in gree it take.
With goddes grace / my comynge ageyn
Shal nat be longe to / I, for thy sake,
Wole the shorter abood / there make.
Truste me weel / as blyue as þat I may,
Haaste I me wole / fro thennes away."

36 [leaf 27, back]

He promises, for
her sake, to come
back home as soon
as he can.

40

42

(7)

¶ To whom / with spirit of humilitee,
She seide / "syn it is your good plesance
To departe hens / & / go to þat Contree,
I take moot algates, in souffrance,
Your wil / and shal, with hertes obeissance,
As treewe as turtle / þat lakkith hir feere
In your absence / I shal be / my lord deere.

43 His wife, the
Empress,

submits to his
will.

47

She will be as
true to him as the
turtle-dove to its
mate.

49

(8)

"ful sore I am agast, & greetly dreede
þat neuere yee shuln thennes with your lyf
Retorne / almighty god yow saue & speede !"
he [to] hir yaf wordes confortatyf,
And kiste hir / and seide, "farewel, wyf !
Be nat abasshit / ne nat dreedith, I preye ;"
And forth he hastith him in his iourneye.

50

54

56 The Emperor
starts for the
Holy Land.

¹ Later scribble at side ; 'h h ham for . . L L L . . L L,' &c.

(9)

[leaf 28] The Emperess grieves greatly at his going.	The sorwe of herte / and cheer' of heuynesse ¹	57
	Which this good lady at his departynge	
	Made / the book' nat can telle or expresse ;	
	Wherefore / of þat haue I no knowlechyng ;	
	Eek' kepe I nat / the belle of sorwe out rynges,	61
	Thogh þat I kneew wel euery circumstance	
	Of hir' wo / & hir' heuy contenance.	63

(10)

	¶ But whan this Emperour was thus agoon,	64
His brother gets proud,	His brothirs herte was so eleuat	
	And so prowd / þat by wight ne sette he noon ;	
	Him self forgat he / for his hy estat ;	
oppresses the poor,	The pore & simple folk / this potestat	68
	Oppressid sore / and dide hem greet duresse ;	
and robs the rich.	The riche / he robbid eek' of hir richesse.	70

(11)

Worse still,	And yit this wikkid man / this Seneschal,	71
	Meeued was werse / and to fulfiȝh it / thoghȝte ;	
he plans and strives	he dide his might / and his peyne total,	
	And alle weyes / serchid he & soghte,	
to carry out a greater crime ;	And to brynges it aboute he faste wroghȝte ;	75
	Al-thoghȝ he faillid / at preef and assay,	
but a woman's No stops him.	He was knyȝt vp / with a wommanly nay.	77

(12)

[leaf 28, back] This Steward or Seneschal tries to make the Emperess lie with him.	He day by day lay / on this Emperice ²	78
	To make hir' vn-to him flesshly consente ;	
	¶ But shee answerde / " it wer' ouer greet vice	
	To me / if I ther-to myn herte bente.	
She refuses,	Nay, brothir, nay / god woot, I neuere it mente,	82

¹ thomas . . Thomas kaye the sonne of thomas kay . . Thomas Kaye the sone of Thommas Kaye . . Thomas Kaye the sonne . . s hus' [in a later hand in the margin].

² In a later hand, at top : 'be it kouge vnto all men be thes present Wryting.'

Ne neuere shal / I truste in goddes grace ;
Yee goon wrong / yee mis-chosen han your place. 84

(13)

“ In al your lyf / yee neuere, ne noon othir, 85
Shal make me consents to þat synne.
ffor shame, fy / þat yee, my lordes brothir,
And whom þat he right feithful trust hath Inne,
Sholde any swich tale / to me begynne, 89
Which wer' ageyn his / and your honestee,
And myn / þat am his wyf, wel knowen yee. 91 whose wife she is.

(14)

“ A treewe wyf / I lyue wole & dye ; 92 She will be a
his wole I be / to whom þat I am bownde true wife to her
Whyle he lyueth and I / withouten lye ; husband.
Trustith wel / it noon othir shal be fownde.”
But for al this / at euery tyme & stownde 96 But still this bad
he stired hire / whan he fond hir soul, Steward urges her
Vn-to this deede vicious and foul. 98 to vice.

(15)

And whan shee sy / shee mighte haue no reste,— 99 [leaf 29]
Nat wolde he stynte of his iniquitee,—
Shee aftir three / or foure / of the gretteste
Of al thempire sente / and thus spake shee :
¶ “ Sires / the cause / þat hath meeued me 103
ffor yow to sende / is this / as I shal seyn,
Of which / I sore encombred am / certeyn : 105
The Emperess
sends for 3 or 4
Magnates,
and tells them

(16)

“ yee woot wel / þat my lord the Emperour, 106 that the Emperor
In his absence / hath maad me principal made her Chief
Of thempire / and his brothir gouernour of the Empire,
And Steward vndir me / for to rule al, and his brother
With this addicioñ / þat he nat shal 110 Steward, to rule
Wirke / my Conseil and assent vnhal :
This was my lordes wil / and thus he bad ; 112 by her advice.

(17)

But the Steward has oppress and robbd,	" And nathelees / the poore he hath oppressid,	113
	And robbid ryche folk / yee woot, I trowe ;	
and tried to do worse to her.	And werse thyng / which shal nat been expressid	
	As now / he wolde han doon / my self it knowe ;	
	Wherefore / vp-on the feith / which þat ye owe	117
The Magnates must imprison	To my lord / and on his part, I yow charge	
	Enprison him / let him nat goon at large ; ¹	119

(18)

(leaf 29, back) and fetter him.	fettreth him faste" / and they answerden thus :	120
	¶ " Ma dame / he hath doon many a wikkid deede	
	Syn our lord wente / it wel knowe is to vs.	
	To your commandement / as we moot neede /	
	We wole obeie / but withoute dreede	124
	yee muste in this / warrante vs and allowe,	
	Lest our lord / whan he comth / vs disallowe."	126

(19)

	¶ "What, Sires," quod shee / "doutith yow right noght;	
	ffor if my lord kneew / as mochil as I,	128
	That he hath doon / sholde be deere boghit.	
She will stand by them.	þat I yow charge / wole I stande by."	
So the Magnates put the Steward in prison and in fettres.	They made anon areest on his body,	131
	And in-to prison / they him threew & caste,	
	And fettred him in yren bondes faste,	133

(20)

When he hears the Emperor is coming home,	Wher' he abood / til þat word comen was,	134
	How þat the Emperour was hoom comynge.	
	Thanne he thus thoghte / "how shal I doon / alas,	
	Now knowe shal my lord, by enquiryng,	
	The verray cause of myn enprisonynge,	138

¹ Later, at foot :	fi	—	s	—	d	
	1	—	10	—	2	
	—	—	9	—	4	
			3		4	84

[1 crost thro' for 2]	2	2	10	100
S ^a to to	Summa totalis	42	10	

Wherthurgh, his grace / I vttirly shal leese,
Or per cas / my lyf / I ne shal nat cheese ; 140

(21)

"In feith if I may / it shal nat be so." 141 [leaf 30]
A messager / as blyue ordeyned he,
And made him / to the Emperice go,
And byseeche hir' / of hir hy[e] bontee,
Syn shee had ay been of hir grace free, 145
þat shee so mochil grace / wolde him do,
As come / and speke a word with him or two. 147

he sends to the
Empress,

and begs her

to come and speak
to him.

(22)

¶ Vn-to the dore / of his prison / shee cam ; 148
Withouten danger / shee ther-to obeide :
"What is your wil," quod shee / "lo, heer' I am."
He lookid pitously // and meekly preide,¹
"O gracious lady / reewe on me," he seide ; 152
"If þat my lord me fynde heer' in prison,
My deeth wole it been, & confusion. 154

She comes.

He prays her
to pity him.

(23)

"My gentil lady / what shal yow profyte 155
To do me of a mescheuous deeth sterue ?
If þat I lyue may / wole I me qwyte
Treewely to yow / and your thank disserue.
What yow list me commande / I wole obserue, 159
And do as humblely as any man
þat in this world lyueth / do may or can." 161

What good 'll his
death do her ?

If she'll spare
him, he'll repay
her and deserve
her mercy.

(24)

And shee anoon right, meeued of pitee, 162
Seide / "if [þat] I wiste þat of thy folie
Thow stynte woldest, & amende thee
Hens-foorth / and thee vn-to vertu applie,
My grace wolde I nat to thee denye." 166
He seide and swoor / al þat he cowde swere,
Amende he wolde / and wel aftir him bere. 168

[leaf 30, back]

She says that if
she can be sure
he'll amend,

she'll pardon him.

He swears he will.

¹ Later, at side : 'hyghte . . Thomas . . bee.'
HOCLEVE, M. P.—II.

(25)

	¶ O noble lady / symple and Innocent,	169
Alas, she trusts him,	Trustynge vp-on his ooth and his promesse, fful wo is me / for thy wo consequent !	
	Often happith / wommannes tendrenesse	
	Torneth hir' vn-to harm / and to duresse :	173
	This Emperice fond it so by preef,	
	Whom þat forsworn man / greet harm dide, & greef.	175

(26)

sets him free,	This man shee took' out of the prison hous,	176
	And made him bathid been, and fresshly shaue,	
clothes him,	And dide him clothe in clothes precious,	
puts him on a steed,	And a fressh Courser / eek' shee made him haue, And seide, " now, brothir / so god yow saue !	180
and bids him ride with her to meet the Emperor.	Takith your hors / and ryde foorth with me Toward my lord " / and foorth with hir' rood he.	182

(27)

[leaf 31]	And as they riden / right in the hy way ¹	183
As they ride, a hart starts, and every man rushes after it.	Ny a fforeste / an hert before hem ran : Ther nas but " ryde on, ryde / and hay, dogge, hay ! " Euery man dooth his peyne / in what he can, The hert to suë / ther leftë no man	187
The Emperess is left alone with the Steward.	With this good lady / sauf this wikkid wight, This Steward / which brak' al þat he had hight.	189

(28)

	¶ Par auenture / men wole han meruailh,	190
	That damoisele / with hir' had shoo noon :	
	No force of þat / the book' withouten faith	
	Makith no mynde / as mochil as of oon ;	
(This happend long ago.)	This chaunce shoop / many a yeer agoon ;	194
	That tyme par cas / was no swich array	
	As þat in sundry Contrees is this day.	196

¹ Later, at top : 'within . . from eve dep.'

(29)

Whan this knyght sy / ther was noon but they two,	197	
To themperice / he seide in this maneere :		He asks her
"It is ago fern / syn I spak' yow to		
Of loue / come on now, my lady deere,		to come into the
With me / in-to this priuee foreste heere,	201	forest and yield
That y of yow / may haue my talent !		to his desire.
Now shal be doon / þat I longe haue ment."	203	

(30)

¶ "What, fool / took I thee nat out of prison),	204	[leaf 31, back]
No lenger' hens / than yistirday," quod shee,		She reproaches
In trust and hope / of thy correccion,		him,
As thow swoor / and behightest vn-to me ;		
And now to thy folie and nycetee	208	
Retourne woldest thow / nay, doutelees		
It shal nat be / stynte and holde thy pees !	210	bide him hold
		his tongue,

(31)

"Ther neuere shal man / do with me þat deede,	211	
Sauf my lord themperour / which þat of right		
Licenced is ther-to / o, god forbeede,		
þat by myn honestee / sette I so light !		
Peyne thee nat ther-to / for in thy might	215	
Shal it nat be / thy wil for to perfourme ;		
By no way wole I me ther-to confourme."	217	and absolutely
		refuses him.

(32)

And he answerde / and spak' vnreuerently :	218	He declares that
"But if þat thow / consente wilt to me		if she won't give
In this foreste / as swythe right wole y		herself to him,
Hange thee by thyn heer / vp-on a tree,		he'll hang her on
Wher no wight shal thee fynde / and so," quod he,	222	a tree by her hair,
Of wikkid deeth / thow sterue shalt & die ;		to starve and die.
Truste on noon help at al, ne remedie."	224	

(33)

[leaf 32]	¶ "By thy manaces / sette I nat a myte,"	225
She scornis his threats.	Shee seide / "of hem haue I no dreede at al. Thogh thow me thretne / myn heed of to smyte, And do me what torment thow canst / I shal	
	Thee werne ay þat / this for answer final	229
	Take if thee list / for, to þat poynt me dryue,	
He shall never haue her alive.	Thow neuere shalt / whyles I am on lyue.	231

(34)

The Steward strips the Emprere to her smock, hangs her on an oak by her hair,	"Thow woost wel / in effect / thus seide I eer."	232
	He strypid hir' anoon / left al delay, Vn-to hir smok / and heng hir' by hir' heer Vp-on an ook' / and by hir', hir palfrey	
	He stonde leet / and fourth on deuel way	236
and rides off, the tyrant.	Rood this tirant / this man malicious,	
	This cruel-herted man enuenymous.	238

(35)

Then he lies to his men,	And whan he had his felawshipe atake,	239
	He blew and blustred / and made heuy cheere ; And a strong lesyng' / he gan to hem make ;	
and says that the Emprere was carried off by force from him.	He seide, "allas / þat I nere on my beere,	
	So wo is me / for þat my lordes feere,	243
	My lady, is me reft / by force of men."	
	God yeue him sorwe // and aȝ swiche [Amen] !	245

(36)

[leaf 33, back] Liar, stinking adulterer,	¶ O false lyer' / o thow cofre and cheste ¹	246
	Of vnclennesse / o stynkyng Aduoutour	
traitor,	In wil, seye I / and willy to incese ;	
	O false man to god / and thow traitour	
	To thy lord and brothir, the Emperour ;	250
	O enemy to wyfly chastitee,	
	And in thy werkis ful of crueltee ;	252

¹ Later, at top : 'O false lyer.'

(37)

¶ O cursid feendly wrecche / why hast thou	253	devilish wretch!
Deceyued & betrayed Innocence?		
What wilt thou seye / & how wilt thou looke, how,		
Whan thou comest / to thy Lordes presence,		
And art opposid by his excellence,	257	
How þat it with his lady hath betid[de]?		
I am seur / þat the trouthe shal been [hidde].	259	

(38)

ffor as wel as þat to thy conpaignie	260	
Thow lyedist / whan thou hem ouertook /		
As lowde wilt thou / vn-to thy lord lye,		you'll lie to your Lord.
I woot wel / and with bolde face and look!		
Nathelees / of this tretith nat the book;	264	
Wherforē to my talē wole I go,		
Of this lady / and fourth tell of hir wo.	266	

(39)

¶ Whan þat shee so had hanged dayes three, ¹	267	[leaf 33]
By þat forestē / rood ther on huntynge		
An Erl / þat was of a strangē contree;		An Earl, while hunting,
Beforen whos howndes was a fox rennyng,		
And they aftir it blyuē folewyng;	271	
And as þat they ran / they hadden a sent		
Of the lady / and thidir be they went;	273	

(40)

And there as shee heeng / they stood at a bay.	274	
This Erl, of þat meruaillynge him greetly,		sees the Empress hanging on the oak.
Thidir him hyeth / in al þat he may;		
And whan he hire / there hangynge sy,		
He seidē / "womman / what art thou, & why	278	
Hangest thou in this wyse vp-on the tree?"		
¶ "A strange womman / sire, am I" / quod shee,	280	

¹ Later, at top: 'Wh . . . Beniamen . . . benefold . . . Beniamin . . . Benee e e e a.' At side: 'Thomas, I haue my hertili comendyd vnto you of du . . .'

(41)

	"Of fer[re] parties / how in-to this place	281
She won't tell him who she is.	I cam / god woot" / shee wolde by no way	
	Deskeuere what shee was / ne what fallace	
	Was doon to hire / cloos she kepte hire ay,	
	And tolde nat o word of hire affray.	285
	Than axed hire the Erl / "whos hors is this	
	þat by thee standith?" // <i>quod</i> shee, "myn it is;"	

(42)

[leaf 33, back]	Wherby the Erl anoon right vndirstood	288
	þat it noon othir wyse mighte be,	
	But shee sum gentil womman was of blood;	
The Earl pities her,	And in his herte / routhe of hire had he,	
	And seide to hire / "if it lyke thee,	292
and offers to free her	Vn-to my wil / thee confourme and enclyne /	
	Deliure wole I thee / out of thy pyne.	294

(43)

	"Lo, this I meene / this is myn entente;	295
	A yong doghtir / haue I in soothfastnesse,	
If she'll be his daughter's governess.	Of which I wolde / if þat thee list assente,	
	Thow tooke on thee to be gouerneresse,	
	And teche hire / as longith to a Maistresse	299
	þat Lordes children han in gouernaiht;	
	And wel wole I thee qwyte thy trauaiht;	301

(44)

	"Myn entente is þat / and othir right noon."	302
She agrees, is taken down,	¶ "Sire," <i>quod</i> shee / gladly wole I obeye	
	To yow in þat" / and shee was take anoon	
	Doun fro the tree / & shortly for to seye,	
goes to the Earl's castle, and takes charge of his girl.	With him to his Castel / shee rood hir weye;	306
	And of the chyld / shee tooke the gouernance,	
	Which torned hire aftir to greet nusance.	308

(45)

Shee with this yong chyld in the Chambre lay ¹	309	[leaf 34]
Euery nyght / wher lay therl and the Contesse,		Shee sleepe with the child in the Earl's room.
Betwixt whos beddes brente a lampe alway ;		
And wel beloued / for hire hy goodnesse,		
Of euery wight was / bothe more and lesse,	313	
This Emperice / til vp-on a nyght,		
Giltlees, hir good loos / refte a wikkid wight.	315	

(46)

¶ Ther was a Styward / in this Erles hous,	316	The Earl's Steward wants to lie with her.
þat to hire ofte had spoke of flesschly loue ;		
To whom seide ay this lady gracious,		
"Maad haue I an avow to god aboue,		
Loueres alle / fro myn herte shoue,	320	
Sauf oonly him / whom, of goddes precept,		
To Loue / I holde am / and þat shal be kept.	322	

(47)

"I truste in god / myn herte shal nat change fro þat, whil my lyf shal sojourne in me."	323	She refuses him.
¶ "O / wilt thou so / wilt thou make it so strange ; Wilt thou noon othir wyse do," quod he.		
¶ "þat I seid haue / I wole holde," quod shee.	327	
And whan he sy / noon othir remedie,		
He wroothly wente / out of hir conpaignie.	329	He resolves to be

(48)

And fro thens foorth / compassid in his wit, ²	330	[leaf 34, back]
How to be venged / vp-on hire, & wroken.		revenged on her.
¶ And on a nyght / vnhappyly shoop it,		
Left was the Erles Chambre dore vnstoken ;		
To which he com / and fond it was nat loken,	334	

¹ Later scribble at top and side : 'o . . of . . of the saide saide . . of the saide . . 4,000,000,000 . . 278231459 . . as . . of the Of . . Sy . . 400,000,000 . . 29,000,000.'

² Later letters often scribbled in margins : D, h, y, a, w, n h n, and 'myn . . . And for . . . where . . . hyl.'

The Steward
steals into her
bedroom,

And theefly in staal / this wikkid persone,
Where as he fond hem slepynge euerychone. 336

(49)

And he espyde / by the lampes light, 337

The bed / where as þat lay the Emperice

With therles doghtir / and as blyue right

This feendly man his purposid malice

Thoghte for to fulfih and accomplice ; 341

cuts the throat of
the Earl's child,

And so he dide / a long knyf he out drow,

And ther-with-al / the mayden chyld he slow. 343

(50)

Hir throte with þat knyf / on two he kutte ; 344

and puts the
bloody knife into
the sleeping
Empress's hand.

And as this Emperice / lay slepynge,

In-to hire hand / this bloody knyf he putte,

ffor men sholde haue noon othir demynge, 348

But shee had gilty been / of this mundrynge.

And whan þat he / had wroght this cursidnesse, 350

Anoon out of the Chambre / he gan him dresse.

(51)

[leaf 25]

¶ The Contesse aftir / of hir sleep awakid,¹ 351

To themperices bed gan caste hir look,

The Countess
sees the knife,

And sy the bloody knyf in hire hond nakid,

And for the fere / shee tremblid and qwook

wakes the Earl,

And rogged on hir lord / and him awook, 355

Preyynge him / to the bed he looke wolde,

And there a meruailous thyng / seen he sholde. 357

(52)

¶ Whan he was wel awakid of his sleep, 358

He lookid ther-to / as shee him besoghte,

And it byheeld / and of it took good keep,

And of þat meschief / him sore forthoghite

who thinks the
Empress guilty,

Demynge þat this cursid deede wroghte 362

This Emperice / as þat it was ful lyk

To been / and vp he threew an heuy syk, 364

¹ Later, at top and in margin : 'The Contesse . . dan (t) . . . H . . pr . . p . .'

(53)

And hire awook' / and thus to hire he cryde, 365
 " Womman ! what is þat in thyn hand I see ?
 What hast thou doon, womman ? for him þat dyde, and accuses her
 What wikkid spirit / hath trauaillid thee ?" of the murder.
 And as soone / as þat adawid was shee, 369
 The knyf fil out of hire hond in the bed[de],
 And shee byheeld the clothes al bybled[de] / 371

(54)

And the chyld deed : " Allas ! " shee cryde, " allas ! " [leaf 35, back]
 How may this be / god woot al / I noot how ; 373
 I am nat pryuee to this heuy cas ; She vows she
 The gilt is nat myn / I the chyld nat slow." didn't kill the
 To which spak' the contesse / " what seist thou ? 376 child.
 Excuse the nat / thou maist nat seyn nay ;
 The knyf al bloody / in thyn hand I say." 378

(55)

And thus / vn-to hir lord / shee cryde anoon : 379
 " Slee this cursid feend / þat our chyld hath slayn ! The Countess
 Lat hire no lengere [now] on lyue goon ! demands that the
 þat y neuere had hire seen / wolde I ful fayn, Emperess shall
 But or shee heer cam / þat shee had be flayn ! 383 be slain.
 ffor so greet wo / cam neuere to myn herte :
 Slee hire as blyue / lat nat hire asterte ! " 385

(56)

Al-thogh þat shee were in this cas vengeable, 386
 ffor causes two / me thynkith it smal vice,
 Shee was in þat in partie excusable : (And surely
 ¶ Oon is / shee wende / þat the Emperice appearances
 Hire chyld had slayn of purposid malice ; justified her
 And so it seemed / as by liklyhede, in this.
 Al be it / þat nat were it so in dede. 392

¹ Scribbles of letters at top and in margin : ' H . . Hn . . f . .
 the loh, H H, y y y y y y, h h h h h, h h, h h, non ny non,
 h h, a.'

(57)

[leaf 36]	þat othir cause / as woot euery man :	393
No love is so great as a mother's for her child ;	In [al] the world / so louynge tendrenesse Is noon / as is the loue of a womman To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,	
and for her hus- band, we married men may say.)	To hire housbonde also / where-of / witnesse We wed . . . men may here / if þat vs lyke, And so byhoueth / a thank' vs to pyke.	397 399

(58)

	¶ Now foorth / how the erl to themperice him hadde, And how þat he gouerned þat mateere,	401
	Herkneth / with heuy cheere & wordes sadde, To hire he spak' / and seide in this maneere :	403
The Earl says he'll not kill the Empress.	"Womman / with my swerd / slee wolde I thee heere, Sauf for awe of god / at whos reuerence þat deede wole I putte in abstinence.	406

(59)

	"Thow haue shalt for me noon harm at al ; But who-so trustith on the curtesie Of thee / ful soone he deceyued be shal.	407
He set her free,	Whan þat thow were / on a tree hangid hye, Where as thow likly haddest been to dye,	411
and in return she's kild his daughter.	Thow woost wel / ther-from I deliured thee, And with my Doghitres deeth / thow qwit hast me !	413

(60)

[leaf 36, back]	"Vnkynde womman / walke on foorth thy way ;	414
She must go,	Hye thee hens / and neuere see my face ; ffor if þat I / heere-affir thee see may,— Outhir in this / or eny othir place Of my lordshipe /—thow noon othir grace	418
or else be slain.	Shalt han / but die a deeth ful villenous, Thow wikkid womman, fals and traiterous !	420

(61)

The Empress speaks no word,	This Innocent lady / no word ageyn Spak' / for shee spoken had ynow beforn,	421
--------------------------------	--	-----

Excusynge hire / but, al was in veyn ; —her first excuses
were in vain—
 ffor whan þat shee had al y-seyd and sworn,
 Shee with the Erl and his wyf / was doun born ; 425
 And sikirly / where as þat no credence
 May been had / wysdam conseillith silence. 427

(62)

¶ What leue þat shee took' / ne woot I nat, 428
 Or þat shee fro þat place was y-went ;—
 The booke maketh no mencion of that ;—
 But hire palfrey / shee hire self hath hent, but mounts her
palfrey,
and rides off.
 And so foorth roode toward the orient. 432
 O Emperice / our lord god gye thee,
 ffor yit thee folwith more aduersitee.¹ 434

(63)

As shee rood, on hir right hand / shee espyde 435 [leaf 37]
 A galwe tree / to which men a theef ledde,
 Hanged to been / and to hire horses syde She sees a thief
led to the gallows,
 The spore gooth / shee faste hire thidir spedde,
 ffor verray routh the hir thoghte hire herte bledde, 439
 And to the Officers / meekly shee preide
 In this wyse / and right thus shee to hem seide : 441

(64)

“Sires, if yow list / this mannes lyf saue 442
 I reedy am / to yeue yow good meede.”
 ¶ “We wole wel,” quod they / “what shul we haue?
 What lykith yow / for his lyf vs to beede?
 Paieth therefore wel / and yee shul speede.” 446
 They of the paiement / accordid were ; buys him of his
guards,
and takes him
with her.
 Shee paide / and this man / foorth shee took' with here.

¹ In margin, in a later hand :
 Of alle thinges that I can fynde,
 Hope dothe help the carefult mynd, quod Carter.

At foot :	s	d.
	20	
	10	— 2
	9	— 4
	39	6

(65)

"Be to me treewe" / now *quod* shee, "my freend, 449
Syn fro thy deeth / deliured haue y thee."

The rescued Thief
promises to serve
the Empress
faithfully.

¶ "Yis, certes, lady / elles to the feend,
Body and soule bytake y," seide he ;
"Noon othir wolde I / for al cristientee, 453
Been vn-to yow" / and fourth shee rood hir way,
And on his foot / this man hire folwith ay,¹ 455

(66)

[leaf 37, back]

She sends him
to find an Inn
in a City,

Til þat they drow / vn-to a Citee ny,² 456
Whidir befor / shee bad him for to go
And take hire In / so þat shee honestly
Mighte Inned been / and he dide right so,
And taried nat his lady longe fro, 460
But ageyn hire / as blyue right this man,
To brynge hire thidir / faste wente & ran. 462

(67)

and then lives
there.

Shee cam in-to hir In / and abood there 463
Dayes dyuerse / for hire ese and reste ;
And in the Citee / fame wydewhere
Sprang / how a lady / the womanlyeste
Of cheere / port / shap / and eek' the faireste 467
That any wight beholde mighte or see,
Was come / and Inned hire in the Citee. 469

(68)

She is courted
in vain by many
lovers.

Many a lusty man / in loues art 470
Expert and sotil / drow hem to hire In,
Weenyng han geten þat / of which no part

¹ At foot, later : li s d
 1 — 10 — 2
 9 — 4
 1 19 6

Summa totalis 39^s 6d

² In margin, in a later hand :

Thys ys Iohā Hanook ys bōke, ho so euer saye naye,
the deuyll of hell bere Thomas Carter awaye !
Know er thow knyht, and then thow mayst slake ; (see p. 124)
Iff thow knyht [*MS.* kynt] er thow know, then hyt ys to late.

They gete kowde / for noon art ne gyn.
 To thententes corrupt / þat they were In, 474
 Shee wolde for no thyng / bowe & enclyne ;
 Hire hertes Castel / kowde they nat myne. 476

(69)

As fer as the boundes of honestee¹ 477 [leaf 38]
 Requeren / shee made hem disport and cheere ;
 But passynge it / for al hir sotiltee,
 ffor profre of meede / ne for faire preyeere,
 Shee change nolde hir vertuous maneere ; 481 but nothing more.
 The lessons þat they in Ouyde had red,
 Halp hem right noght / they wenten thens vnsped. 483

(70)

¶ O. yee þat seyn / wommen be variant, 484 How silly it is
 And can nat sad been / if they been assaillid : of men to say
 Yee been ful vnkonnyng and ignorant, that woman can't
 And of the soothe / foule yee han faillid ; be constant.
 Constance is vn-to wommanhode entaillid ; 488
 Out of þat fee / they nat be dryue may ;
 Swich hir nature is / thogh sum men seyn nay, 490

(71)

They stidefast been / as fer as y woot, 491
 But it be / wher they take han a purpos
 þat naght is / which, be it neuere so hoot, They only change
 They change / lest it hurte mighte hir loos, a purpose when
 And keepen it secree / couert & cloos, 495 it might hurt
 Vnexecut / thogh of hem nat a fewe their reputation.
 The reuers doon / what / the feend is a shrewe. 497

(72)

Let al this passe / ther cam to the port 498 [leaf 38, back]
 Of this Citee / a ship with marchandyse
 Charged / where-of hir man made report A merchant-ship
 To his lady / shee bad him in al wyse comes.
 Go thidir, and see / and him wel auyse 502
 She sends to
 know

¹ At top, later : A nunni a A a nunni A nunni k k k (?).

what's on board of it. What thyng ther-in was / & word hoom hire brynge,
Withoute any delay or tarynge. 504

(73)

Her man (the Thief) finds rich stuffe, He thidir wente / & clothes precious, 505
Amonges othir thynges / there he fond ;
fful ryche was the stuf, and plenteuous,
Of the ship / and the maistir, by the hond
he took / and seide / "ga we to the lond, 509
[Vn]To my ladyes In / shee wolde bye,
If þat yow list / sum of your marchandie." 511

(74)

and takes the Shipman ¶ "I wole gladly" / seide the Shipman ; 512
And to the ladyes In / they bothe two
Goon / but before dressith him hir man,
And reported hire / as him oghte do,
What he had in the ship seen / and ther-to, 516
That the Shipman was comen / he hir tolde,
Axyng hire / if shee with him speke wolde. 518

(75)

[leaf 39] ¶ "Yis," quod shee / "let him in come, I the preye."
to the Emperess. He entred / and vn-to him thus spak shee : 520
¶ "Sire / yee han in your ship heere, y seye,
She asks him to bring his clothes to her. Dyuerse precious clothes / and if yee
Wolden some of hem brynge hidir to me, 523
As þat we mighte accorde, wolde y paye
In honde / and nat your paiement delaye." 525

(76)

He agrees, ¶ "Ma dame, I graunte," he seide / and took' his leewe ;
And with him / hir seruant to the ship wente, 527
To whom / the shipman by the way gan meeue :
but tempte her thief-servant. ¶ "freend, I am set / on a certain entente,
Vn-to the whiche / if þat thou wilt assente, 530
And do thy deuer / and my Conseil hyde,
That thou me kneew / thou blisse shalt the tyde. 532

(77)

- “O, may I truste / may I truste in thee? 533
 Thow helpe me maist / and no wight but thow.
 If thow wilt so / in this necessitee,
 Gold and siluer wole I thee yeue ynow.”
 ¶ “Yis,” *quod* this seruant, “that I make avow 537 Her thief-servant
 To god / if þat it in my power lye, agrees to take the
 Myn help to thee / ne wole y nat denye. 539 Shipman's bribe,

(78)

- “If thow heere-aftir / fynde þat I gabbe, 540 [leaf 39, back]
 Of my promesse / thanne dokke me ;
 I neuere was yit / of my tonge a labbe ;
 þat thyng / þat me told is in priueteo,
 Keepe I can wel / be in noon aweertee, 544
 But anon to me telle out al thy gole,
 ffor treewe and trusty / be to thee y wole.” 546 and vows to be
 true to him.

(79)

- ¶ “Grant mercy,” seide the Shipman ; “I-wis, 547
 Now feele I confort / now dar y bywreie
 To thee myn hertes secree / which is this :
 Swich excellence of beautee is, y seye,
 In thy lady / þat but if thow purueye 551 The Shipman
 ffor me / þat y hir loue may obteene, says he must
 fful shorte shuln my dayes been / y weene.” 553 get hold of the
 Emperess.

(80)

- ¶ *Quod* this seruant / “looke how y may profyte 554 Her servant
 In this, let see / and me sette in the way
 How y shal do / and so shal y me qwyte,
 þat y thy thank / disserue shal for ay ;
 Al shal be doon right to thyn owne pay ; 558 promises to help
 Telle on / how wilt thow þat I me gouerne.” him.
 The Shipman seide / “and þat I wole as yerne : 560

(81)

[leaf 40]	¶ "On my behalue / to thy lady weende,	561
The servant is to say that the Emperess must come to the ship to see the clothe.	And to hire seye / þat in no maneere, Clothes out of my ship may I hire seende ; If hir good lust be, in my ship appeere, Shee shal seen what hir list / with ful good cheere ;	565
	But out of my ship / wole y nothyng selle : Right euene thus / vn-to hir seye and telle ;	567

(82)

	" But of o thyng / thow must thee wel auyse,—	568
	Good heede ther-of take / and nat ne failþ,— Be thow wel waar / in al maneere wyse þat the wynd thanne / be good, hens to sailþ ;	572
He must bring her when the wind's fair for leaving port.	Al þat thow doost elles / may nat auaiþ ; ffor lede hire hoom / wole y to my contree : Lo, this is al / þat y desire of thee."	574

(83)

fful sooth is seid / the fals and coueitous	575
Been soone accordid / allas ! this onhede Synful shal be / wikkid and treecherous. O / Emperice / god the gye and lede ! Thow haast, or this, had trouble greet & drede,	579
And yit a sharp storm is vn-to thee shape ; But, thankid be god / al thow shalt eschape.	581

(84)

[leaf 40, back]	¶ Now to purpos / than seide this seruant	582
The man swears he'll do this.	To the Shipman / " come of, yeue me meede, ffor heere y swere / and make couenaunt, This shal be doon / haue there-of no dreede." He had[de], y not what / the deucl him speede	586
	ffor his labour / to be doon in this caas ; And to his lady / dressith he his paas.	588

(85)

- He tolde hire / how the Shipman wolde naght 589 Her thief-servant
 Deliure clothes / out of his vessel ; tells her
 But if it lykid hire / to bye[n] aght /
 Thidir shee muste come / and he ful wel
 With hire wolde do / shee kneew no del 593 she must go to
 Of the treson / purposid twixt hem two, the ship to buy
 And seide / "in goddes name / it shal be do ; 595 clothe.

(86)

- "I reedy am to go / whan þat y shal, 596 She agrees.
 Syn þat thow seist / it may noon othir be,
 But outhir moot y goon / or leuen al.
 Let vs go thidir as swythe," *quod* shee.
 ¶ "A / nay, madame / it may nat be" / seide he, 600
 "Swich occupacioun hath he this day,
 That he vn-to yow / nat entende may. 602

(87)

- "Ma dame / vs muste abyden his leisir ; 603 [leaf 41]
 There-on I wole awayte bysily ;
 And whan tyme is / yee shuln han your pleisir.
 Ofter vp-on him awayte moot y, He waits till
 To wite and knowe / wel and redily,¹ 607
 The tyme / whan we shal vs thidir dresse :
 Ma dame / for yow / this best is, y gesse." 609

(88)

- This humble lamb / this lady Innocent, 610
 Of al this treson no notice hauynge,
 Seide / "as þat thow doost / holde y me content."
 Thus hir seruant delayed hir goynge
 Til þat the wynd wel stood / the ship to brynge 614 the wind is off
 Out of the port / and thidir he hir spedde, shore,
 And þat in haaste, he to the ship hire ledde. 616 and then takes
 her to the ship.

¹ Later scribble in margin : After my most . . . Thomas, you be a good samener (!) . . . thom . . . This bitt made the . . . b ll . . . Shi.

(89)

The Shipman
sails off with the
Empress.

Whan shee withyn the Shipbord entred was, 617
Vp gooth the sail / to the top of the mast.
Hire man, of purpos / lefte on londe / alas.
Quod Shee / "nat was y waar of this forcast ;"
And ther-with-al / out to weepe shee brast, 621
And seide, "what treson / doost thou, Shipman,
To me?" ¶ "nay," quod he, "no treson / womman,

(90)

[leaf 41, back]
and demands to
lie with her.

She refuses.

"Nat meene I, but thus / lo / thus wole I do, 624
fflesshly the knowe / and aftir wedde thee."
¶ "A vow," quod shee / "maad haue I god vn-to,
þat neuere so / shal ther man do to me,
ffor thyng in this world / outake oonly he 628
To whom y am y-bownden to / and¹ knyht;
The labour is in vein / to speke of it." 630

(91)

He threatens to
throw her into
the sea.

¶ "Keepe in thy wordes / womman, I thee rede," 631
Quod he / "considere and thynke wel, þat thou
Of thy lyf standist in peril and drede,
ffor in middes of the See been we now.
To me conforme / it shal be for thy prow, 635
Elles in-to the See wole I thee caste ;
Truste me wel / so wole y do as faste." 637

(92)

She temporizes,

and asks him to
make a private
room for them.

¶ "Now wel," quod shee / "syn y may nat asterte 638
My deeth / but y your entente fulfille,
Al-thogh it be greetly ageyn myn herte :
Yit rather than þat yee me sle or kille,
Wole y assente / so it be your wille, 642
In the ende of the ship / for to ordeyne
An honest place / and pryuee / for vs twayne. 644

¹ MS. and and.

(93)

- " It is nat / as I hope / your entente¹ 645 [leaf 42]
 In open sighte of folk / do *with* me so :
 Hard were it make me / ther-to consente,
 ffor þat / a greet encrees were of my wo ;
 Yit leuer were it me / my lyf forgo. 649
 A pryuee place, as I seide / purueye
 ffor vs / þat folk see nat / how we foleye." 651

(94)

- ¶ He in the ship / where as was his plesance, 652 The Shipman
 A place ordeyned / curtyned aboute, makes a curtained
 In-to the which / with heuy contenance, room.
 Whyles he speek^t with his meynne *withoute*,
 Shee entred hath / and anoon gan to loute 656
 To god / right on hir knees she hir prayeere
 Made / as I to yow shal rehercen heere : 658

(95)

- ¶ " O god, our Lord, Ihesu, our Saueour, 659 The Emperess
 þat fro my youthe / haast kept me to this day, prays to God to
 Curteys Ihesu / me keepe now this hour
 ffrom al pollucioñ / so þat y may, save her from
 With herte cleene / in this woful affray, 663 pollution.
 My soule yilde to thy deitee ;
 Mercyful lord / of this byseeche y thee ! " 665

(96)

- Nat endid was hire orison vnnethes, 666 [leaf 42, back]
 But swich a tempest / aroos in the See,
 þat the ship brast / and there took hire dethes
 They þat ther in weren / the hool meynne,
 Sauf oonly this maistir shipman / and shee : 670 A tempest splits
 By oon of the bordes / shee faste hire heeld, the ship in two.
 Which from hire deeth was hire deffense & sheeld, 672
 All the crew
 perish, but she
 and the Shipman.

¹ In margin, later scribble : A nunny . . A nunn . . hou . .
 In the . . In the . . In the . . In.

(97)

The Empress is carried safely to land.	And broghte hire vp / vn-to the land saufly.	673
	To an othir bord / this maister shipman	
The Shipman is also saved.	Eek claf / and was sauf / this fil wondirly :	
	Many maistries our lord god do can ;	
	And þat this lady, this noble womman	677
	Was sauf / this maistir shipman kneew no deel,	
	Ne shee / þat he fortunèd had so weel.	679

(98)

The Empress goes into a Nunnery,	¶ Of this shipman / speke y no more as now ;	680
	But this lady / vn-to a Nonnerie	
	þat was but there faste by / hir drow,	
	Wher the ladyes / of hir conpaignie	
	Were ful glad, & of hir genterie	684
	Receyued hire / al thogh þat no notice	
	They hadde / of hire estat of Emperice.	686

(99)

[leaf 45] and, by God's grace, heals sick folk.	And there abood shee / a long tymes space	687
	In holy lyf / and vertuous clenness ;	
	Vn-to whom god yaf / and shoop swich a grace,	
	þat shee kowde hele folk of hir seeknesse,	
	What so it were / and thidir gan hem dresse	691
	ffrom euery part / and euery Contree,	
	They þat felten any infirmittee. ¹	693

(100)

Her cursed brother-in-law	Than shoop it / he þat to the Emperour	694
	Was brothir / which this lady on a tree	
Is now a leper.	By hire heer vp heeng / þat cursid traitour,	
	Mirowr of malice and iniquitee,	
	As foul a leepre was / as mighte be :	698
	Lo, thogh god him / to wreke a whyle abyde,	
	The fals and wikkid, qwytyth he sum tyde.	700

¹ Later scribble in margin : 'Righte welle . . Robarte . . Robarte . . ff hrrmm.''

(101)

The knyght eek which the Erles doghtir slow—	701	The false knight who kild the Earl's daughter
The Emperice & shee / bothe sleepynge,		
As I before told haue / vn-to yow—		
Was blynd and deaf / and also the tremblynge		is blind, deaf,
Of palesie / sore gan him wrynge :	705	and palsied.
No force how sore / swich a wreeche smerte,		
That to wommen / so cruel is of herte.	707	

(102)

¶ The thief / which to the maistir of the ship	708	[leaf 48, back]
Betrayed themperice, his lady, als		The thief-servant
ffrom harm ne greef / kowde nat make a skip—		
God sheelde he sholde / he þat was so fals		
To hire / þat from the roop[e] kepte his hals—	712	
Potagre and gowty / & halt he was eek,		is gouty and
And was in othir sundry wyse seek.	714	lame.

(103)

¶ The Shipman had also the franesie,	715	The Shipman has the frenzy.
þat with this Emperice / hadde ment		
ffulfillid his foul lust of aduoutrie,		
Which was in him / ful hoot and ful feruent :		
See how aȝ hem / þat to this Innocent,	719	
This noble lady / had y-doon greuance,		
Our lord god qwitte / with strooke of vengeance.	721	

(104)

¶ Yee men, whos vsage is, wommen to greeue,	722	God's vengeance falls on deceivers of women.
And falsely deceyue hem and bytraye,		
No wondir is / thogh yee mis happe & cheene :		
God qwyte yow wole / and your wages paye		
In swich[e] wyse / þat it yow shal affraye.	726	
Let goddes wrechis hens-foorth yow miroure,		
ffor, but if yee do / yee shul bye it soure.	728	

(105)

[leaf 44]	¶ Now to the Emperour, tornē wole y,	729
When the Em- peror hears of the Holy Woman	Which, whan he herde / þat in an Abbeye Of Nonnes / was a womman so holy, And ther-to so konnyng, he herd[e] seye, That voide kowde shee / and dryue aweye	733
who heals all sicknesses,	Seeknesses all / of what kynde or nature They weren / and hem hele wel & cure,	735

(106)

he bids his leprous brother go with him to her,	Right thus vn-to his brothir seide he tho :	736
	"To this holy womman / best is þat we, As faste as we may make vs reedy, go, Syn, so good / and so gracious is shee, þat of thy leepre / shee may cure thee."	740
and get cured.	This was assentid / they hem haaste & hye In what they may / vn-to þat Nonnerie.	742

(107)

The Abbess and Convent meet the Emperor,	Knownen vn-to thabbesse & hir Couent	743
	How þat the Emperour / was ny comynge, Ageyn him in processioñ / arn they went, Hir seruice ful deuoutly syngynge, And dide al / þat was to swich cas longynge.	747
	And whan he in thabbeye was alight, Thus of thabbesse / he axid anon right :	749

(108)

[leaf 44, back]	"Is ther any swich womman in this hous, As folkes hele can of hir seeknesse? Men seyn, heere is a womman merueilleous : Shal it be fownden soo" / he seide, "Abbess!"	750
and tell him they have a Woman of unequal power.	¶ And shee answerde / "Sire, in soothfastnesse A good womman / dwellynge is / with vs heere, Which in vertu / we knowen noon hir peere."	754
		756

(109)

She dide hir come anoon / to his presence ;	757	The Emperess comes veld to the Emperor,
But with hir veil / hir face hid had shee,		
To been vnknowe / and dide him reuerence,		
As longid vn-to his hy Dignitee.		
And right as blyue / of hire axid he,	761	
" Can yee my brothir / of his maladie		
Of leepre, cure, and of meselrie ?	763	

(110)

" If þat yee can / now tell on, y yow preye,	764	
ffor your labour / ful wel qwyte wole y."		
But or þat shee / aght wolde answee & seye,		
She caste hir look about[en] / and there sy		see his leprous brother,
The Emperoures brothir stande by,	768	
þat leepre was / and eek' tho othir three		
þat had hir doon so greet aduersitee,	770	

(111)

That is to seyn / the knyght, theef, and shipman ;	771	[leaf 45] and her other three betrayers,
And thanne shee spak' / and seide in this wyse :		
" Sire / noon þat is heere, y cure can ;		and says she cannot cure them
I may nat take vp-on me þat empryse—		
Ther-to may nat my konnyng souffyse—	775	
But if þat they / an open shrifte make		unless they con- fess their sins.
Of hire offenses dirke & synnes blake."	777	

(112)

¶ To his brothir / than spak' this Emperour :	778	The Emperor bids his brother con- fess his guilt.
" Among all vs / thee openly confesse ;		
Spare nat to deskeuere thyn errour,		
Syn þat thow ther-by / maist, of thy seeknesse		
Cured be / telle out al thy wikkidnesse ;	782	
Be nat abasshit / it manly is to synne,		¹ ¶ humanum est peccare, &c ¹
But feendly is / longe lye ther-ynne."	784	

¹ Later, above this : Iohn.

(113)

The Brother makes a sham confession,	ffor forme / a confessiõ made he,	785
	Swich as it was / but how the Emperice, his lordes wyf / he heeng vp-on a tree	
but not of his sin against the Empress.	By hire heer / tolde he nat / þat cursid vice,	
	ffor torne it sholde him / in-to preiudice	789
	And harm also / deskeuere kepte he noght, Yit aftirward / he ther-to was y-broght.	791

(114)

[leaf 45, back]	Whan þat his lewde shrifte was y-do,	793
	"Sire," quod shee / "laboure y sholde in veyn, If aght I leide / your brothir vn-to,	
She says he has not made full shrif.	ffor he maad haath / noon hool[e] shrifte, ne pleyn."	
	¶ This Emperour vn-to him spak' ageyn :	796
	"Woost thou nat weel / thou art a foul mesel ?	
	Telle out, let see / shryue thee cleene and wel,	798

(115)

The Brother then says he can't do it unless the Em- peror 'll forgive him.	"Or truste me weel / for þat encheson)	799
	Thow voide shalt / out of my conpaignie."	
	¶ "O Lord" he seide / "but if your pardõn	
	Yee me promette / I dar nat specifie	
	O word of my gilt / I yow mercy crye."	803
	¶ Quod theemperour / "what, haast thou agilt me ?"	
	¶ "Certes, right gresuously / my lord," seide he.	805

(116)

The Emperor pro- mises to pardon him.	¶ "Now," quod the Emperour / "and haast thou so ?"	
	And of the Emperice / he thoghte nat,	807
	But weenyngs / shee many a day ago,	
	Deed had been / seide / "what offense is that ?	
	Be nat aferd / but tell on plein & plat,	810
	ffor what so þat it be / y foryeue al ;	
	Truste wel / þat y seye, y holde shal." ¹	812

¹ Later scribble at foot, c. 1500, 'per me wylliam . . per me me wylliam Hopkins.'

(117)

Ther-with, al was his brothir herted weel :	813	[leaf 46]
Al how the Emperice had he betrayed,		The Emperor's
Before hem aH / he tolde out euerydeel ;		brother confesse
Where-of / the Emperour was sore affrayed.		his sin against the
His brothres reward / had nat been vnpayed,	817	Emperess.
Nad promesse of the Emperour him bownde		
To pardon / for which wo was him þat stownde ;	819	

(118)

Almoost he was / out of him self certeyn ;—	820	The Emperor is
So seith the book ^r / and þat was no meruaiH.		almost beside
What lord is þat / if swich a word sodeyn		himself,
To him cam of his wyf / whos gouernaiH		
Was hires lyk / but ny to sholde him faiH	824	
his wit and his good disposicion)		
ffor the sodeyn woful impression)	826	

(119)

ffor falle anon sholde in his remembrance	827	remembering his
Hir vertuous manere and wommanhede,		wife's virtue and
hir beautee / shap / good cheere & daliance :		beauty,
Al this considered / withouten drede,		
Out of the weye of ioie / him wolde lede,	831	
The mis / of so vertuous a persone ;		
And yit nat for þat encheson) allone ^r ! ¹	833	

(120)

But also the vnkyndely treson	834	[leaf 46, back]
Of his brothir / þat him to him had qwit		and his brother's
So falsely / me thynkith by reson		unnatural treason.
Stike right ny / vn-to his herte oghite it,		
And causen him / ful many an heuy fit ;	838	
But nathelees / wit axith, & prudence,		
Al thyng þat fallith / take in pacience.	840	

¹ Later scribble in margin : 'spindlye (?) Relm . . Rv 2 (?) be that . . he that my . . he that in youth no verke will vse, all . . thomas . . dden . . god . . y, d, d d M c. c' . . d . . d . . ij days . And . . iiij D . . hud . . h . . m, m.'

(121)

	¶ Now to my purpos / themperour tho spak'	841
	To his brothir / and thus he to him seide :	
The Emperor curses his brother,	" Thow cursid wrecche / thow demoniak' ! þat our lord god / which for vs alle deide, The strook of his vengeance / vp-on thee leide,	845
	No wondir is / had y this beform wist,	
and said he'd	Thy body sholde han the grownd swept & kist ;	847

(122)

	" And ther-to eek / as sharp[e] punisshement	848
	As þat dyuyse ther kowde any wight, Thow sholdest han y-preeued by the sent ; But holde wole y / þat y thee haue hight."	
Then the Knight	¶ And thanne confesse him / began the knyght þat the Erles doghtir slow / "as shee sleep,"— lo, thus he seide / takith now good keep ¹ —	852 854

(123)

[leaf 47]	¶ " Notice noon," seide he, " ne knowlechyng haue y of þat lady / ne who it is, But as my lord the Erl rood on huntynge In a foreste ones / wel woot y this, A fair lady he fond hangynge Iwis On a tree by hire heer / and of pitee And routhe meeued / hire adoun took' he,	855 859 861
-----------	---	-------------------

confesses that his
lord, the Earl,
found a lady
hanging by her
hair,

(124)

	" And to his Castel / with him hire he ladde,	862
	And the charge / bytook' to hire, and cure, To keepe a yong Doghtir / which þat he hadde, Hire to teche and to lerne norture. But to me shoop ther / a mis-auenture ;	866
The Knight tried to lie with her.	I bisyed me / to haue by hire leyn ; And al my labour / ydil was and veyn.	868

and put her in
charge of his
daughter.

¹ Later, at foot : 'Thomas Onslor . . . moste.'

(125)

" for any craft / þat euere kowde y do,	869	And when she refused,
To me shee wolde assente by no way ;		
I kowde in no wyse / brynge hire ther-to ;		
hire answers was euere oon / & that was 'nay,'		
Which was nothyng / vn-to my lust and pay ;	873	
Wherefore meued was y, nat a lyte,		
But ful greetly / and hire y thoghte qwyte, ¹	875	

(126)

" And in hir bed / as shee lay on a nyght,	876	[leaf 47, back]
This yonge maide / and shee sleepynge faste,		
I kilde the chyld / and ther-with, foorth-right		
The bloody knyf / in-to the hand y thraste		he kild the Earl's child, and put the bloody knife in the Lady's hand,
Of the lady / for þat men sholde caste	880	
And suppose / how þat no wight but shee		
Mighte of this slaghtre and murdre gilty be,	882	

(127)

" And thens / my lord maade hire voyde anoon ;	883	and she was sent away.
But wher shee becam / am y nat priuee ; ²		
God woot / þat knowleche / haue y ther-of noon."		
¶ Than spak the thief / " y noot whom meene yee,		Then the Thief-servant confesses
But a lady of excellent beautes	887	
Allone and soul / cam by the way rydyng,		
Whan for my gilt / y led was to hangyng ;	889	

(128)

" And whan þat this lady benigne & good,	890	how the Lady
Had hir look toward me cast, and espyed		
ffrom a-fer / in what mescheef þat y stood,		
hire herte anoon / of pitee was applyed,		
Me to socoure and helpe / and hath hire hyed	894	
Vn-to the place / wher deed sholde y be,		
And payde for my lyf / and saued me ;	896	rescued him from death.

¹ In margin, by a later hand, c. 1500 :

'of all good thynges the worlde brought forth,
a faithfull frende ys thynges mooste worthe' . . .
'gouernor.' (later still) 'I shall the thynges the world brought
forth' . . . 'y' . . . 'H. Pershe' (!) ² 'lay' (later, at side).

(129)

[leaf 48]	" And aftirward, I, as a fals traitour	897
	Ageyn hir gentillesse and hy bontee,	
And he betrayd her to a lecherous Shipman, who suld off with her.	To a shipman / which was a foul lecchour,	
	Betrayed hire / and to his Contree	
	him shoop lede hire / this man delauue,	901
	And fer in-to the See y saw hem saift ;	
	But what fil aftir / woot y nat sanz faill."	903

(130)

The Shipman confesses that he did so,	¶ " Swich a fair lady, certein y receyued	904
	In-to my ship " / seide the Shipman tho,	
	" And thoghte haue hire deffoulid & deceyued	
	Amiddes the See / but shee preide so	
	To god / þat my deayr was y put fro ;	908
	I mighte nat acheeue my purpoos.	
but a storm	Whan shee had preid / an hidous storm aroos,	910

(131)

	" And shortly / of this for to speke and telle,	911
	The wynd ful sore / in the sail bleew & haf,	
	And the wawes began to bolne & swelle,	
clawe his ship,	And our taklynge brast / and the ship claf	
	In two / of seurtee loste y ny the staf ;	915
	Vndir the watir / wenten euerychone ;	
and he alone	My self except / knowe I no sauf persone.	917

(132)

[leaf 48, back]	" By a bord of the ship, heeld y me faste ;	918
	And as þat my fortune shoop þat tyde,	
escaped to land.	The wawes me sauf vp-on the land caste."	
	¶ This Emperice list no lengere hyde	
The Emperess says the four guilty men are now clean shriven.	What þat shee was / but spak' / and sumdel cryde	922
	¹ On hy / and to hem seide in this maneere :	
	" Now been yee cleene shryuen / freendes deere ;	924

¹ In margin, later : 'Iohn bo . . b b.'

(133)

"Now shul yee all haue of me medecyne."	925	
Shee dide hire art / & helid euery wight		The Emperess then cures the
Of his seeknesse / & voidid al his pyne ;		4 offenders,
And from hire heed / shee hath hir veil y-plight,		and lifts her veil.
And hem hir face shewid anoon right.	929	
And as swythe / as the Emperour hir sy,		The Emperour sees
þat shee his wyf was / kneew he verrailly ;	931	she's his wife,

(134)

And withoutē delay / to hire he sterte,	932	
And hire embraced in his armes tweyne,		
And kiste hire often / with vnfeyned herte ;		kisses her, and
But fro weepyng / he kowde him nat restreynē,		weeps for joy.
Thogh it nat causid were of greef & peyne,	936	
But of the inward ioie which þat stownde		
He took, by-cause he had his wyfe y-fownde.	938	

(135)

¶ O / many a wrecche is in this lond, y weene /	939	[leaf 40]
þat thogh his wyf lenger had been him fro,		(Many a wretch
No kus / but if it had been of the spleene,		now would be
Shee sholde han had / & forthermore also,		sorry to find his
ffyndyng of hire / had been to him but wo,	943	wife again.)
ffor him wolde han thoghþ þat swich a fyndyng,		
To los sholde han him torned, and harmyng.	945	

(136)

No force of þat / my tale I now thus eende :	946	
Hoom vn-to his Paleys this Emperour		The Emperour
And his good lady themperice weende,		took his wife
And lyueden in ioie and hy honour		home, and they
Til þat the tyme of deeth cam, and his hour,	950	liued happily till
Which þat no wight eschue may, ne flee ;		they died.
And whan god list / also dye shul we.	952	

Explicit fabula de quadam Imperatrice Romana.

(1)

My friend came	M y freend, after, I trowe, a wike or two	1
	That this tale endid was / hoom to me cam,	
	And seide / " Thomas / hastow almoost do!	
	To see thy werk' / hidir comen y am."	
	My tale anoon y fette / and he it nam	5
and lookt thro' this tale,	In-to his hand / and it al ouersy;	
	And aftirwar / he seide thus therby :	7

(2)

[leaf 49, back]	¶ " Thomas, it is wel vn-to my lykyng ;	8
and then askt me	But is ther aght þat thow purposist seye	
	More on this tale ?" ¶ " nay, my freend / no thyng."	
	" Thomas / heere is a greet substance awaye :	
where the Mora- lizing was.	Where is the moralizynge / y yow preye,	12
	Bycome heere-of / was ther noon in the book'	
	Out of the which / þat thow this tale took'?"	14

(3)

I'd never seen one.	¶ " No certes, freend / ther-in ne was ther noon."	15
	" Sikirly, Thomas / there-of I meruaiſh ;	
So my friend went home,	Hoom wole y walke / and retourne anoon ;	
	Nat spare wole y / for so smal trauaiſh,	
	And looke in my book' / there y shal nat faiſh	19
	To fynde it / of þat tale it is parcel,	
	ffor y seen haue it ofte / & knowe it wel."	21

(4)

fetcht it, and left it with me.	He cam ther-with / and it vn-to me redde,	22
	Leuyng it with me / & hoom wente ageyn ;	
	And to this moralizynge I me spedde,	
And I at once Englisht it in prose.	In prose wrytynge it / hoomly and pleyn,	
	ffor he conseilid me / do so / certeyn ;	26
	And lo / in this wyse and maneere it seith,	
	Which to þat tale is good be knyht, in feith :	28

¶ *Incipit moralizacio.*

[leaf 50]

This Emperour þat y spak' of aboue / is our lord Ihesu
 Cryst / his wyf / is the soule; Themperoures
 brothir is man / to whom god committed and bytook'
 the cure and the charge of his Empire / þat is to seyn,
 of his body / & nathelees principally of the soule / but
 the wrecchid flessþ ful often sythe stireth and excitith
 the soule vn-to synne / but the soule þat entierly loueth
 god abouen alle thynges / makith euere resistance vn-to
 synne / and takith his mightes & powers / þat is to
 seye, reson / wil / intellect and conscience, & makith
 swich inobedient flessþ to the spirit, to been enprisoned
 in the prison of penance / til it obeie in all thynges to
 reson. ¶ Themperour, þat is to seye, Cryst, is to come
 to the synnere / & thanne the flessþ cryeth, axynge
 grace / and as often as he hath mercy / he hath hope /
 & for trust & hope of mercy / the rathere wole he synne.
 ¶ Ageyn swiche folk spekith holy scripture in this
 wyse: ¶ "Accursid is or be þat man þat synneth in
 hope" / to which the soule is often sythe enclyned /
 shee letith the flessþ goon out of the prison of penance /
 shee wasshith & pougith the flessþ of the ¹filthes of
 synne / clothynge it with goode vertues, & makynge it
 ascende / and worthe vp-on the steede of charitee / to
 ryde in good wirkes and deedes / þat it may meete with
 god in the holy day of Estren / but alas and wele-
 away / often sythe the synnere offendith and trespasseth
 by the way in þat holy tyme / where-of the hert rysith /
 þat is to seyn, Delectacion of synne / and all the wittes
 rennen aftir synne / and the howndes / þat is to seyn,
 the wikkid thoghþes, alway berken, & maken swich
 instigacioþ / þat man, þat is to seyn, the flessþ and the
 soule, been to-gidere left with-outen any vertu / and

The Emperor is
 Christ; his
 brother, man;
 the Empire,
 man's body and
 soul.

The soul resists
 the flesh.

The flesh cries
 for mercy,

and then sins
 again.

¶ *Maledictus
 homo qui peccat
 in spe.*

[¹ leaf 50, back]

The hounds are
 wicked thoughts.

[1 leaf 52, back]
The soul can't be
seen by Christ
till all the senses
are shriven.

wherthurgh all the wittes by whiche the soule vexed
was, and troubled / been infect with dyuerse seeknesses /
as ye / by the concupiscence of yen / heerynge / by
detraccion, ¹and so forth / wherfore the soule may nat
openly be seen of Cryst, hir spowse / til þat all the
wittes be confessed openly / and thanne douteless the
soule may be led to the ioie of paradys, to which he vs
brynge, þat starf for our redempcion, amen.

¶ Explicit moralizatio,

XXIII.

& incipit ars vtillissima sciendi mori ..
Cum omnes homines naturaliter scire de-
siderant & c' ..

Learn to Die.

(1)

Since all men
desire knowledge,

Syn alle men naturelly desyre 1
To konne / o. eterne sapience,
O vniuersel Prince / Lord & Syre,
Auctour of nature / in whos excellence
Been hid alle the tresors of science, 5
Makere of al / and þat al seest & woost,
I ask Thee, Lord, This axe y thee / thow lord of mightes moost, 7

(2)

to open Thy
treasure of
wisdom to me.

Thy tresor of wisdam / & the konnynge 8
Of seintes / opne thow to me, y preye,
þat y ther-of / may haue a knowlechyng;
Enforme eek me / and vn-to me by-wreye—
Syn thow of al science berst the keye— 12
Sotil matires right¹ profownde & greete,
Of whiche / y feruently desire trete. 14

(3)

[leaf 53]

¶ “O sone myn / sauoure nat so hye, ¶ Septentia. 15
But dreede / herkne / and y shal teche thee
Thyng þat shal to thy soule fructifie;

¹ Sotile matres A (Ashburnham MS).

A chosen yifte shalt¹ thow haue of me ;
 My lore / eternal lyf shal to thee be,
 The dreede of god / which the begynnyng is
 Of wisdom / shalt thow lerne² / & it is this :

19 Wisdom says
 the fear of God is
 the beginning of
 wisdom. (Ps.
 xvi. 10.)
 ¶ Incitum
 sapencie
 timor
 domini.

(4)

" Now herkne a doctrine substancial,
 ¶ ffirst, how Lerne Dye / telle wole y ;
 ¶ The .ij.^{as} how þat a man lyue shal ;
 ¶ The .iiij.^{as} how a man sacramentally
 Receyue me shal / wel and worthyly ;
 ¶ The .iiij.^{as} how with an herte cleene & pure
 That a man loue me shal and honure."

22 She'll teach,
 1. how to learn to
 die ;
 2. how to live ;
 3. how to receive
 Wisdom ;
 4. how to love
 her.

(5)

¶ " Tho thynges .iiij.^{as} good lord, haue y euere ¶ Discipulus
 Desired for to knowe / and hem to leere ;
 Vn-to myn herte ther is nothyng leuere ;
 A bettir thyng / can y nat wisshen heere ;
 But tellith me this / this fayn wolde y heere
 What may profyte the lore of dyynge, ¶ Ad quid prodest hac
 doctrina &c.
 Syn deeth noon hauynge is / but a pruyngye ?

30
 33
 35

(6)

" ffor shee, man reueth of lyf the swetnesse."

36 [leaf 53, back]

¶ " Sone, the art to lerne for to dye
 Is to the soule an excellent swetnesse,
 To which y rede / thow thyn herte applie ;
 Ther is noon art / þat man can specifie
 So profitable / ne worthy to be
 Preferred artes all / as þat is shee.

¶ Sapientia
 1. The art to learn
 how to die
 40
 is better than all
 other arts.
 42

(7)

" To wite and knowe / þat man is mortel,
 It is commune / vn-to folkes alle ;
 þat man shal nat lyue ay heer / woot he wel ;
 No trust at al / may in his herte falle,
 That he eschape or flee may dethes galle,

43
 47

¹ shalt A, om. D.

² leere A.

But fewe þat can die / shalt thou seen ;
It is the yifte of god / best þat may been. 49

(8)

It is to have heart
and soul ready
when death
comes.
"To lerne for to die / is to han ay 50
Bothe herte and soule / redy hens to go,
That whan deeth cometh / for to cacche hir pray,
Man rype be / the lyf to twynne fro,
And hire to take / and receyue also 54
As he that the comynge of his felawe
Desirith / and is ther-of¹ glad & fawe. 56

(9)

[leaf 54]
Many take no
thought of Death,
"But more harm is / ful many oon shalt thou fynde,
þat ageyn deeth / maken no purueance ; 58
Hem lothen / deeth for to haue in hir mynde ;
þat thoght / they holden thoght of encombrance ;
worldly swetnesse / sleeth swich remembrance ; 61
And syn to die / nat lerned han they,
fro the world twynne / they wolde in no way. 63

(10)

and when they
die, they go to
Hell.
"They mochil of hir tyme / han despended 64
In synne / and for thy / whan, vnwaarly, deeth
Vp-on hem fallith / and they nat amendid,
And shal from hem byreue wynd and breeth,
ffor shee vnreedy fynt hem / whan shee sleeth / 68
To helle goon tho soules miserable,
There to dwelle in peyne perdurable. 70

(11)

"Deeth wolde han ofte a brydil put on thee, 71
And thee with hire / led away shee wolde,
Nadde the hand of goddes mercy be.
Thow art ful² mochil / vn-to þat lord holde,
þat, for thou wrappid were in synnes olde, 75
he spared thee / thy synnes now forsake,
And vn-to my doctrine / thou thee take ! 77

Forsake your
sins at once !

¹ ther-of is A.

² right A.

(12)

" More to thee profyte shal my lore	78	[leaf 54, back]
Than chosen gold / or the bookes echone		Wisdom bids her
Of Philosophres / and for þat the more		Disciple
Feruently / sholde it stire thy persone		
Vndir sensible ensaumple thee to one	82	
To god / and thee the better for to thewe,		
The misterie of my lore / y shal the shewe. ¹	84	

(13)

" Beholde now ² the liknesse and figure	* inward A	85	suppose a dying
Of a man dyyng and talkyng with thee."			man talks to him,
¶ The disciple, of þat speeche took good cure,			
And in his conceit / bysyly soghte he,			
And ther-with-al / considere he gan, & see		89	
In him self put / the figure & liknesse			
Of a yong man of excellent fairnesse,		91	

(14)

Whom death so ny ransakid had, & soght,		92	
þat he withynne a whyle sholde dye.			
And for his soules helthe / had he right noght			a man who is not
disposid / al vnree dy hens to hye			ready for death.
Was he / and therefore he began to crye		96	
With lamentable vois / in this manere,			
þat sorwe and pitee greet / was it to heere : ³		98	

(15)

¶ " Enviroind han me, dethes waymentynges,	¶ Circumdederunt me gentes mortis, &c'	[leaf 55]
Sorwes of helle han compaced me ;		
Allas, eternal ⁴ god ! .o. kyng of kynges,	* eterne	'The pains of
Wher-to was y born / in this world to be ;		Hell compease me.
O. alas / why in my natiuitee		103

¹ In the Ashburnham MS the inside double-leaf of the next quire has been sewn up as the outside of the other, so that stanzas 19-24 here come before stanzas 13-18. In like wise, stanzas 25-30 here come in the Ashburnham MS. after stanzas 31-36 here.

² In margin, later, † about 1500,

Before thou pretend any evill in thy harte, } quod
Remember the end when thou shalt departe, } Carter.

- Nadde I perissid? o, the begynnyng
Of my lyf was with sorwe & with weepyng, 105
- (16)
- “And now myn ende comth / hens moot y go 106
With sorwe / waylyng and greet heuynesse.
Death's presence O. deeth, th mynde is full of bittir wo;
Vn to an her wont vn-to gladnesse,
And norisshi in delicat swetnesse, 110
is horrible to me. Horrible is th / presence / and ful greeuable
To him þat vong is / strong and prosperable. 112
- (17)
- “Litil wende y so soone to han deid : 113
O cruel deeth / thy comyng is sodeyn ;
fful vnwaar was y / of thy theefly breid ;
Thow haast as in awayt / vp-on me leyn ;
Thy comyng vn-to me / was¹ vncerteyn ; 117
But I cannot escape it. Thow haast vp-on me stolen / and me bownde ;
Eschape y may nat now / my mortel wownde. 119
- (18)
- [leaf 55, back] “Thow me with thee drawist in yren cheynes, 120
As a man dampned / wont is to be drawe
To his torment / outrageous been my paynes.
A, now for sorwe / and fere of thee & awe,
I cry, but can find no place to flee to, With handes clight / y crye / and wolde fawe 124
Wite the place whidir for to flee ;
But swich oon / fynde can y noon / ne see.² 126
- (19)
- “I looke on euery syde bisyly, 127
and no one to help me. But help is noon / help and confort been dede ;
A vois horrible of deeth / sownyng heere y,
þat seith me thus / which encressith my drede :
'Thow dye shalt / reson noon / ne kynrede, 131

¹ Thyn hour was vn-to me ful—A.

² A. goes on with st. 31, p. 186 : ‘Or as an arwe shot out of a bowe,’ the leaf being misplaced.

ffrendshipe / gold / ne noon othir richesse
May thee deliure / out of dethes duresse. 133

(20)

" 'Thyn eende is comen / comen is thyn eende, 134 My end is come.
It is decreed / ther is no resistance.'

lord god / shal y now die / and hennes weende?

Whethir not changed may be this sentence ;

O. lord, may it nat put been¹ in suspense? ¹ be put A. 138

Shal y out of this world so soone go ?

Allas / wole it noon othir be than so? 140

(21)

"O deeth, o deeth, greet is thy crueltee ! 141 [leaf 56]

Thyn office al to sodeynly doost thow.

Is ther no grace? lakkist thow pitee?

O Death, hast
thou no pity ?'

Spare my youthe / of age rype ynow 144

To dye / am y nat yit / spare me now!³ 3 D adds 'ynow.'

How cruel þat thow art / on me nat kythe!

Take me nat out of this world so swythe!" 147

(22)

¶ Whan the disciple this complaynte had herd, 148

He thoghte al þat he spak / nas but folie,

And in this wyse / ⁴he hath⁴ him answerd : ~~4~~ hath vn to A.

**The Disciple
answers the
dying man :**

¶ “Thy wordes, freend / withouten any lye,

pat thow haast but smal lerned / testifie ; 152

Euene to aH / is dethes iugement ;

Thurgh-out the world / strecchith hir paiement. 154

(23)

"Deeth / fauorable is to no^d maner wight; ^d om. no A. 155 'Death has no

To all / hir self / shee delith equally ;

Shee dredith hem nat / þat been of greet might,

Ne of the olde and yonge / hath no mercy ;

mercy on old or young.

² In margin, later, c. 1500:

Some desayre or they desayre / and yett they lacke } quod
that they Require ; }
Some desyre or they desayre / and yett the[y] }
gayne whylle other starve, } Carter.

The ryche & poore folk' eek' certainly 159
 She seith / shee sparith right noon estaat ;
 Al þat lyf berith / with hir chek' is maat.¹ 161

(24)

[leaf 56, back] " Ful many a wight / in youthe takith shee, 162
 It takes folk at all ages. And many ²an othir eek'² in middil age, ²⁻²oon also A.
 And some nat / til they right olde be :
 Wendist thou han been / at swich auantage
 Do you think you only are to be spared ? þat shee nat durste / han paid thee thy wage, 166
 But oonly han thee spared & forborn,
 And the prophetes deid han heer-beforn ?" 168

(25)

The supposed dying man says ¶ Than spak' thymage / answerynge in this wyse : 169
 " Soothly thou art an heuy confortour ;
 Thou vndirstandist me nat / as the wyse :
 They þat continued han in hir errour,
 Lyuyng in synne / vn-to hir dethes hour, 173
 Worthy be dampned for þat they han wrought ;
 And how ny deeth is / they ne dreede noght. 175

(26)

" Tho men ful blynde been, & bestial. 176
 Of þat shal folwe / aftir this lyf present,
 fforsighte / swiche folk' han noon / at al.
 he doesn't lament Death's judgment, I nat bewaille dethes iugement ;
 But this is al the cause of my torment ; 180
 but his own unpreparedness. The harm of vndisposid deeth / y weepe ;
 I am nat reedy / in the grownd to creepe, 182

¹ At foot of leaf 56, later, c. 1500 :

The brwett of evill tonges / what woman can eschew !
 or who can let a fowle to wytt / the thinge that is vntrew :
 quod Carter //

In margin of leaf 56 :

Since of a womans breestes I was fostered /
 Dame Nature sayth / I sholde them Love / } quod
 Why shold any man / ther-wyth by offended / } Carter //
 In generally it is gevin from hym above /

(27)

"I keepe¹ nat / þat y shal hennes twyne, ^{1 weepe A.} 183 [leaf 57]
 But of my dayes / I the harm bewaiht,
 fruytlesse past / sauf with bitter fruyt of synne;
 I wroghte in hem nothyng / þat mighte auaiht
 To soules helthe / y dide no trauaiht ^{'I did nothing for my soul's health.} 187
 To lyue wel / but leued to the staf
 Of worldly lustes / to hem y me gaf. 189

(28)

"The way of trouthe y lefte / & drow to wronge; 190
 On me nat shoon the light of rightwisenesse;
 The sonne of intellect / nat in me spronge;
 y am weery² of my wroght wikkidnesse; ^{2 weery am A.} But I am weery of ill-doing.
 y walkid haue, weyes of hardnesse 194
 And of perdition / nat kowde y knowe
 The way of god / wikkid seed haue y sowe. 196

(29)

"Allas, what hath pryde profytid me, 197 Pride and riches have past away
 Or what am y bet / for riche richesse hepynge?
 Ah they as a shadwe passid be,
 And as a messenger faste rennyng, ^{¶ Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra preteriens, & tamquam nuncijs cito percurrunt, & tamquam nauis, &c.}
 And also / as a ship þat is sayllyng
 In the wawes / & floodes of the See,
 Whos kerfe nat fownden is / whan past is shee. 203

(30)

"Or as a brid / which in the air þat fleeth,³ 204 [leaf 57, back]
 No preef⁴ fownde is / of the cours of his flight;
 No man espie can it / ne it seeth, ^{4 way A.} like the course of a bird in the air,

³ At top, in a later hand: "Post bellum auxilium: Ayde after the felde is alreedy faught." In margin: "fortune not favoring, thinges not withowt highe consell and wisdom enterprised, have a very vn lucky ende; and contrarie thinges donne temerously, yf she favor, have right prosperous chaunce / example, 'Sirenus persian, a Captain' / What I speeke lythe in myne owen powre / but how so the thinges as I do, shall ende or be taken, standethe in the pleasur of fortune & y^e kinge."

Sauf with his wynges / the wynd softe & light
 He betith / and cuttith their¹ / by² the might 208
 Of swiche stiryng / & foorth he fleeth his way ;
 And tookne aftir þat / no man see ther may. 210

(31)

or an arrow shot
 from a bow.

“ Or as an arwe / shot out of a bowe, 211
 Twynneth the air / which þat continually
 Agayn is closyd / þat man may nat knowe
 Where þat it paste / no wight the way sy :
 Right so / syn þat y born was / fare haue y 215
 Continuelly³ / y stynted for to be, ² Anoon rightes A.
 And tokne of vertu / shewid noon in me. 217

(32)

My hope is like a
 lock of wool tost
 by the wind.

“ I am consumed in my wikkidnesse ; ¶ In malignitate pro-
 Myn hope is / as it were a wolle-loke pria consumptus sum.
 Which the wynd / vp reisith⁴ / for his lightnesse, spes mea, &c)
 Or small foom / þat desparlid is, and broke ⁴ blowe away A.
 With tempest / or as with wynd waastith smoke, 222
 Or as mynde of an oost / þat but a day
 Abit / and aftir passith foorth his way. 224

(33)

[leaf 68]

My heart is
 heavy ; my eyes
 are dim.

“ ffor why my speeche is now in bittirnesse, 225
 And my wordes / been ful of sorwe & wo ;
 Myn herte is plunged deepe in heynesse,
 Myn yen been al dymme and dirke also.
 Who may me grante / þat y may be so 229
 As I was / whan y beautee hadde, & strengthe,
 And had beform me / many a dayes⁵ lengthe, 231
⁵ yeres A.

(34)

“ In wiche y the harm mighte han seen beform, 232
 þat now is on me fah / I yaf no charge
 Of the good precious tyme / y haue it lorn ;
 But as the worldly wynd / blew in my barge,
 ffoorth droof y ther-with / and leet goon at large 236

¹ their A (the air).

² with A.

- Al loos the brydil of concupiscence,
And ageyn vertu / made y resistance.¹ 238
- (35)
- " My dayes I despente in vanitee ; 239
Noon heede y tooks of hem / but leet hem passe,
Nothyng considerynge hir precioustees,
But heeld my self free born as a wylde asse
Of thaftirclap / insighte had no man lasse ; 243
I ouer blynd was / y nat sy ne dredde,
With what wo / deeth wolde haaste me to bedde. 245
- (36)
- " And now as fisses been with hookes kaght, 246 [leaf 55, back]
And as þat briddes / been take in a snare,
Deth hath me hent / eschape may y naght ;
This vnwaar woful hour / me makith bare
Of my custumed ioie / and my welfare ; 250
The tyme is past / the tyme is goon for ay ;
No man reuoke / or calle ageyn it may. 252
- (37)
- " So short was not the² tyme / þat is goon, * þat A. 253
But y, of goostly lucres / & wynnynge,
Aughte³ haue in it purchaced many oon, * Mighte A.
Exceedynge in value / aft eerthly thynges
Incomparablely / but to his wynges 257
The tyme hath take him / & no purueance
There-in made I / my soule to auance. 259
- (38)
- " Allas, I, caytif / for angwissn̄ & sorwe, 260
My teeres trikelen / by my cheekes down ;
No salt watir / me needith begge or borwe ;
- ¹ In margin, in a later hand : "He lyvethe so moche the easier, who to delightes was used neuer." At foot : "Quod caret alterna requie, durable non est.
What thing restethe not now & then amonge,
But still traveyleth, cannot endure longe."
Below, in another hand : "Be ytt knowen vnto all men by these presentes that I, Wylliam Wyllon [!]."
- I gave reins to my lust.
- I held myself as free as a wild ass.
- But now Death has seized me.
- I might have bought spiritual treasure, but didn't.
- Now I weep bitter tears,

- Myn yen flowen now in greet foyssoun ;
 Allas / this is a sharp conclusioun, 264
- and mourn the
 time I've lost. Thogh y the tyme past / conpleyne & mourne ;
 ffor al my care / wole it nat retourne.¹ 266
- (39)
- [leaf 59] " O my lord god / how laach and negligent² 267
- Why did I put
 off amendment? Hauē y been / why hauē I put in delay
 And tarynge myn amendement?
 Wher-to hauē y dissumuled / welaway
 Allas / so many a fair and gracious day 271
 Hauē y lost / & arn³ from me goon & ronne, ^{be A.}
 bat mighte in hem / my soules helthe han wonne. 273
- (40)
- " Myn hertes woful waymentacions, 274
 Who can hem telle / who can hem expresse?
 Now fallen on me accusacions
 Wondirly thikke / of my wrought wikkidnesse.
 In flesshly lust / and ydil bysynesse, 278
 Leet y⁴ my dayes / dryue foorth and slippe, ^{I lost A.}
 And nat was beten / with penances whippe. 280
- (41)
- " Why sette y so myn herte in Vanitee? 281
 O, why ne had y lerned for to die?
 Why was y nat ferd of goddes maugree?
 What eilid me / to bathe in swich folie?
 Why nadde reson / goten the maistrie 285
 Of me / why? for my spirit was rebel,
 And list nat vndirstonde / to do wel. 287
- ¹ At foot, in a later hand : " Love ys the occupacyon or busi-
 nes of ydell folkes, that have nothing eles to sette them selve
 on werke with-alle / Diogenes / Of wilde bestes, the backebyter
 is the worse; Of tame bestes, the flaterer / Dio[genes]." At
 side : " Beneficium dando accepit, qui digno dedit,
 Himself, by geving, receyveth a benefiche.
 Who gevethe to a person worthie to have yt."
- ² In margin, in a later hand : " Diogenes being asked what
 was the moost miserable thinge in this worlde, answered, ' An
 aged man in extreme pouertie / '" At foot : " Vertuus and good
 men, the lyvely and true ymage of god / Diogenes."

(42)

"O, alle yee þat heere been present,	288	[leaf 59, back]
Yee þat floure in Youthes lusty grennesse,		Ye who flourish in your youth,
And seen / how deeth / his bowe hath for me bent,		
And tyme couenable han / to redresse		
þat youre vnruely youthes wantonnesse	292	
Offendid hath / considereth my miserie,		consider my misery.
The stormy seson / folwith dayes merie.	294	

(43)

"Let me be your ensauple and your mirour,	295	Let me be a warning to you.
Lest ye slippe in-to my plyt miserable.		
With God, despende of your youthe ¹ the flour; ¹ dayes A.		
If yee me folwe / in-to peril semblable,		
Yee entre shuln / to god yee yow enable;	299	
In holy wirkes your tyme occupie,		Do holy work while you've time.
And whyle it tyme is / vices mortifie.	301	

(44)

¶ "Allas, o youthe / how art thou fro me slipt!	302	
O. god eterne / y vn-to thee conpleyne		² wrecchidnesse / in which þat A.
The wrecchidnesses / in whiche ² y am clipt;		
Lost is my youthe / y smerte in euery veyne,		My youth is lost.
The gilt / þat wrought hath my synful careyne.	306	
O youthe / thy fressheneesse and iolitee		
Hatith thy soothes / be told vn-to ³ thee. ⁴	308	

(45)

"No lust had y to doon as y was taght,	309	[leaf 60]
Ther-of had y right ⁵ greet desdeyn & hokir; ⁶ ⁵ ful A.		

⁴ At foot, in a later hand: "11. Socrates being asked* 'by what meanes a man myght optaine an onnest name & fame, 'To be,' quod he, 'A man in deede, as he desireth to be' /"

At side: "2. Socrates. Nothing owght to be desired of god in mennes prayers, but vnder this furme, and with thes wordes: 'Suche thinges as bee good for us,' withowte any further addycioun." . . . "Socrates: The best sauce in the worlde for meats is to be hungrye."

⁶ At top, in a later hand: '2. Hokir, Lothesome' . . .

At foot: "8. Socrates said that soche as hadde well broken themselves to vertuous living and temperate dyet, did perceyve

* 'asked' is crosst thro', 'demaunded' is written over it.

- Good counsel
I cared no more
for than an old
boot.
- Whan men conseilid wel / y herde it naght :
Nat so moche / as by an old boote or cokir
Sette y ther-by / in-to myn hertes lokir 313
Entre mighte / noon holsum disciplyne ;
No wil had y / to good conseil enclyne. 315
(46)
- “Lord god, now / in a deep dych am y fah ; 316
In-to the snare of deeth / entred am y ;
Bet had it been / than thus had it¹ befaH, ¹ it had thus A.
Neuere han be born of my modres body,
But there-in han perissid vtirly, 320
ffor y despente in pryde and in bobance
The tyme grantid² me / to do penance.” ² lent to A. 322
(47)
- The Disciple says ¶ To which answerde the disciple tho : 323
“Lo / we die alle / and as watir we slyde ¶ Ecce, omnes
In-to the eerthe / which þat neuere mo morimur, &
Retourne shal / but on a sikir syde quasi aque
We standen alle / for god nat wole hyde difflamin in
terram &c.
His mercy fro man / who-so list it craue, 327
Be repentant / and mercy axe & haue. 329
(48)
- [leaf 60, back] “God haastith nat / the gilt of man to wreke, 330
But curteisly / abydith repentance. ³ shal seye and A.
Heere me now / what y shal to thee³ speke :
ffor þat thow hast offendid / do penance ; ¶ Age penitenciam
Torne vn-to god / with hertes obeissance ; de transactis, &
conuertere ad dom-
inam.
Axe him mercy / þat⁴ is al merciabe, ⁴ which A.
and be saved.’ And saued shalt thow been / it⁵ is no fable.” ⁵ this A. 336

& take of the same, bothe moche more pleasure and lesse paynes,
then soche as, with all highe cure and diligence, did on every
syde make provision to have all thinges of pleasure.”

At side : “Socrates. 14. As we do not put Images to making,
but onely to soche workemen of whome we se some nighbour of
Images well-favordly and minonly [!] made a-fore ; So sholde we
take vn[to] no persons ower frendship, but soche as we perfectly
know to have tried [!] themselves faythfull and cerviceable
frende to other a-fore, to other folkes.”

(49)

¶ Thymage of deeth answerde anon to þat :

“ How spekiest thou, man / shal y me repente,

Shal y me torne / o man, ne seest thou nat,

Ne takist thou noon heede ne entente

Of dethes angwisshes / þat me tormente

And oppressen / so greuouly and sharpe

That y not what to do / or thynke or carpe.

¶ Quis est
hic sermo
quem loqueris
‘debeo
penitare;
debeo me
convertere?’
Nonne vides
angustias &c?The supposed
dying man says

341

‘My anguish is
so sharp, I know
not what to do.

343

(50)

“ As a partrich / þat with the hawk is hent

And streyned with his clees / so is agast

þat his lyf ny from him is goon and wente :

Right so / my wit is cleene fro me past,

And in my mynde / is ther no thoght ne cast

Othir than serche a way / how deeth eschape

But y in veyn / ther-aftir looke and cape.¹¶ Quemad-
modum per-
drix cum sub
vngulibus
aucipitris
mox discer-
penda com-
primatur pre
angustia
mortis, quo-
dammodo
exanimis
redditur /
sic &c
1 gape A.

My wits are gone.

(51)

“ Nat wole it be / for deeth me doun oppressith ; 351

The twynnyng of my lyf / ful bittir is,

þat hurtith me greuouly / and distressith ;

ful holsum had it be² / to me or this, ² been A.Penance³ han doon / for þat y wroghte amis 355

Whyles my tyme / was in his rypnesse,

ffor þat had been / the way of sikirnesse ; 357

[leaf 61]

Death crushes
me.

(52)

“ But he þat late / to penance him takith,

Whethir he verrailly or feynyngly

Repente / he noot / vncertain it him makith.

Wo is me / þat my lyf so synfully

I ledde / and to correcte it / lachid y ; 362

Ageyn my soules helthe haue y werreied,

þat for it haue no bettere purueied. 364

¶ Qui autem
tarde penitencie
se committit /
dubius erit /
quis nescit
vtrum vere vel
fictè peniteat.Woe is me that I
led a sinful life!

(53)

¶ “ Allas, to longe hath be² the taryyng

And the delay of my correccioñ !

¶ O longa
nimis protra-
ctio emenda-
cionis mee /Too long have I
put off² Altered to ‘rePentaunce.’ Penance A.

- A good purpos / withoute begynnnyng, propositum
bonum sine
inclinacione &c
 Good wil / withouten operacioñ,
 Good promesse / and noon execucioñ, 369
 amending. ffoorth dryue amendes / fro morwe to morwe,
 And neuere doon / þat causith al¹ my sorwe,² now A. 371
 (54)
 [leaf 61, back] "O morwe, morwe / thow haast me begilt! 372
 O / whethir this miserie / nat exceede
 Al worldly wrecchidnesse / alas, my gilt!
 Alas, my gilt! Wel worthy is it / þat myn herte bleede, 375
 And with angwissñ and wo / me³ fostre & feede. ³ him A.
 See how my dayes aht⁴ / arn slipt me fro; ⁴ ny A.
 30 years have I lost. xxx⁴. yeer of myn age / a-way been go. 378
 (55)
 "fful wrecchidly, god woot / y haue⁵ hem lost, 379
 And al myn owne self / is it to wyte; ⁵ haue I A.
 So good a piler / was y neuere, or post
 Vn-to my soule / as o day me delyte
 I never was virtuous for a day. In vertu / or aght wel to god me qwyte, 383
 As þat y mighte haue doon or oghte;
 By aght y woot / y neuere aftir þat soghte. 385
 (56)
 How I shall be shamed at Doomsday! "Lord god, how shamefully stande y shal 386
 At the doom beforñ thee and seintes aht,
 Where y shal arted be to rekne of al
 That y doon haue & left / whom shal y caht
 To helpe me / o, how shal it befaht? 390
 My torment and my wo / me haaste and hye,
 Hens for to / twynne / as blyue shal y dye.⁶ 392

² In margin, by a later hand :

"So[crates] 21. No kinde of Labore is a thing of shame,
 But ydelnes evermore worthis of blame.

So[crates] 27. What ys a-bove owre reche,
 We have no thing to do wth all."

At foot: "So[crates] 28. This silver plate, and riche araye
 Of purple hewe, dothe wonderous well
 For deeguisiñ in a stage playe;
 Owr lyff nedethe them not a dele /"

⁶ Later scribble in margin: "Thomas, Pardy, I sayd yt not . . . O longa
 nimis . . . P . . . Pr . . . r r . . . prynm . . . nng . . . d . . . Thomas &c."

(57)

"O now this hour / gretter ¹ ioie & gladnesse	393	[leaf 62]
I wolde haue of a litil orisoun	¹ day more A.	I'd rather now have said one prayer
By me seyde / with hertes deuout sadnesse, As the angelyk ¹ salutacioun :		
Thau y wolde haue / of many a milioun	397	than own millions of money.
Of gold and siluer / foule haue y me born, And synfully / þat sy nat this befor.	399	

(58)

"Whan y mighte haue it seen / than wolde y noght ; How many houres haue y lost / þat neuere	401	
Retorne shuln / how mochil haue y wroght Ageyn my self / my lust was to perseuere		I followd vice, and left vertue.
In vicious lyf / & from it nat disseuere ;	404	
I lefte þat good was, & necessarie Vn-to my soule / and dide the contrarie.	406	

(59)

"More than was neede or expedient, Vn-to the help of many an othir wight	407	I helpt others,
Entendyd y / y was ful inprudent ; I tooke noon heede / to my self aright ;		not myself.
By soules profyt / sette y nat but light ;	411	
Whan tyme was / fynde kowde y no tyme, Me to correcte / of myn offense and cryme. ²	413	

(60)

But now feele y / þat vn-to the gretnesse	414	[leaf 62, back]
Of merites celestial / had been bet		
My wittes han kept / with soules clenness,		¶ Vere nunc cognoui quod ad magnitu- dinem premi- orum plus michi contulisset sollicita custodia cordis &c
Than þat left / with herte corruptly set, And ageyn deedes vertuous y-whet /	418	I ought to have cared for holy things, and kept pure.
Helpe me mighte / any mannes preyere, Thogh .xxx ⁱⁱ . yeer / he preid had for me heere.	420	

² At foot, in a later hand : "So[crates] 30. Who-so eatethe drie breade with pleasure, the same nedethe no meate to hit ; and to whome no mēer of drinke comethe a-misse, the same requireth none other cuppe but soche as ys redye in the waye."

(61)

	¶ " O, herkneth now / herkneth now alle yee	421
	þat heere been / and seen my wrecchidnesse !	
	The tyme as þat yee seen / now faillith me ;	
I begd my friends to give me some of their good deeds,	My freendes preide y / þat they sum almesse	
	Of thabundance of hir goostly richesse	425
	And wirkes goode / wolden to me dele	
	In my greet neede / for my soules hele ;	427

(62)

	" And eeke in releef and amendement	428
but they said No.	Of my giltes / but hire answer was ' nay ' ;	
	They seiden, ' ther-to yeu en oure assent,	
	Wole we nat in no maneere ¹ way	¹ manere of A.
	Lest it vs and yow nat souffyse may.'	432
I am destitute.	On euery part / thus am y destitut ;	
	flynde can y no socour ne refut. ²	434

(63)

[leaf 63] O God, have mercy on me!	¶ " O god benigne / o fadir merciable, ³	435
	Beholde and reewe vp-on thy pacient !	
	To me, thyn handwerke / be thow socourable !	
	þat y greetly haue erred and mis-went,	
	Me wel remembrith this tyme present.	439
	Allas / why stood y in myn owne light	
	So foule / o. lord, me now ⁴ helpe of thy might !	441

³ At foot, in a later hand : "So[crates] 35. Scyence and conynge is the onely good thing of the world ; and contrarye-wyse, ignorance the onely evell thing / "

⁴ In later hands, at top : "O god benigne, o fader merciable. . . Oratio."

At side : "Thomas hecker haue Red att Thys boke . so haue now haue [! MS. som] of my filos done . . Thomas hecker haue Red att This boke. soo haue nott, haue not, haue of of. Herro . . . of Repentance with any good deed /

So[crates] 38. The begynninge ys half of the wholle.

44. Cælum non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit.

Who runneth oversee from place to place,
Though he change aire, his minde is as yt was / "

(64)

- "How grete richesches spirituel
And heuenely tresors / had y been wys,
Mighte y han gadered / and nat dide a del.
O good lord god / o lord of paradys,
fful leef to me now were / and of greet prys 446
Of satisfaccioun / the leeste deede
Right dereworthe / were it in this neede. 448

(65)

- "O / now the leeste crommes / þat ther fall
ffro the lordes bordes / and tables down,
Refresshe wolden me ful wel *with*-aH,
But noon fynde y / of swich condicioun
þat yeue me wole any porcioun. 453
Y haue espyd / the frendshipe is ful streit
Of this world / it is mirour of deceit. 455

(66)

- ¶ "Reewe eek on me, yee aH / and pitee haue ! 456 [leaf 63, back]
And whyles your force and vigour may laste,
And tyme han eeke / or yee be ny your graue,
In-to bernes of heuene gadereth faste
Tresors celestial / þat at the¹ laste ¹ atte A. 460
Yee may receyue / whan þat yee shul twynne
ffrom hens / the blisse þat shal neuere blynne. 462

(67)

- "And beeth nat voide of vertu, ne empty, 463
Whan þat the deeth / an othir day to yow
Approche shal / as yee may see þat y
Am voide of deedes vertuous right now."
¶ "ffrend," *quod* the disciple / "y see wel ynow 467 The Disciple
Thy torment and thy greuous passioun,
Of which / myn herte hath greet compassioun ; 469

(68)

- "And by almighty god / I thee coniure 470
þat thow me yeue reed / how me to gye,
Lest þat heere-aftir / y,² par auenture, ² I heer aftir A.
asks for advice

how to avoid the
peril of death,
unprepared.

In-to lyke peril / haaste may and hye,
Of vndisposid sodein deeth / and drye 474
The wo / which y considere / þat thee vexith,
wherthurgh / myn herte sore agrysid wexith."¹ 476

(69)

[leaf 64]
The supposed
dying man says
' Repent,

¶ Than spak thymage / " the best purueance, 477
And wit is / han verray contricioun
In strengthe & hele / of the mis-gouernance
Of thy lyf / and plener confessioun
Make of thy gilt / and satisfaccioun, 481
And asseeth do / and all vices leue
þat thee mighten the blisse of heuene reue."² 483

(70)

Behave as if you
were to die to-
day.

" And so / with al thyn herte / it is³ the beste, 484
Keepe thee fourth / as þat thow this day right, ³ is it A.
Or to-morwe / or this wike atte⁴ fertheeste, ⁴ at the A.
Sholdist departe fro this worldes light,
And ther-with-al / enforce thow thy might, 488
As y shal seyn / in thyn herte to thynke,
And thow shalt it nat reewe ne forthynke. 490

(71)

Suppose your soul
has been 10 years
in Purgatory,

" Caste in thyn herte / as now thy soule were 491
In purgatorie / and hadde pyned be
.x. yeer in a fourneys brennynge there,
And this ononly yeer were grantid thee
ffor thyn help / so beholde often & see 495
Thy soule / in the flaumbes of fyr brennynge,
and it is crying
to you
With a wrecchid vois / thus to thee cryyng: ⁵ 497

¹ At foot, in a later hand: "Socrates exhorted yung springalles, now and then earnestly to veu and behold themselves in a glasse, to the ende—yf they were beautifull and of good featur of body—they shold beware to commyt nothing vncomly for the same / yf otherwise, that the defautes of the body myght, with exerceyse or furniture of the wytte, & with honneste of maners & behaveur, be redoubted."

² That heuenes blisse mighten thee byreue A. At right side, later: 'Cumber youre'; at left side, 'R B A.'

³ At foot, later: "Non uiuas ut edas; sed edas, ut uiuere possis.

Lyue not as a glutton, styll for to eate,
But fede to maintayne lyfe by thic meate."

(72)

- ¶ "Of alle freendes / thow, the derwortheste, ¶ *O amicorum omnium dulcissime, succurre &c* [leaf 64, back]
 Do to thy wrecchid soule help and socour,
 þat is al desolat / purchase it reste.
 See how y brenne / o, reewe on my langour;
 Be for me so freendly a purueyour, 502
 þat in this hoot prison / y no lengere to rescue it.
 Tormentid be / lat it nat thus me dere! 504

(73)

- "The worldes fauour / cleene is fro me went; 505
 fforsake y am / frendshipe y can noon fynde;
 Ther is no wight / þat to the indigent ¶ *Non est qui fidelitatem ostendat; non est qui manum purget agentis &c*
 Puttith his helply hand / slipt out of mynde
 I am / in peynes sharpe y walwe & wynde; It is sharp pain.
 And of my wo / ther is no wight þat recchith;
 Nat knowe y frendshipe / or to whom it strecchith. 511

(74)

- "Men seeken thynges / þat to hem self longe, ¶ *Singuli que sua sunt / querunt, & me in vitricibus flammis desolatam derelinquant, &c*
 And me leuen in the flaumbes vengeable.
 O good freend / lat me nat thus pyne longe!"
 ¶ To which the disciple, with cheere stable
 Seide / "thy lore were profitable, 516
 Who-so it hadde by experience The Disciple approves this,
 As thow haast / ther-to yeue y may credence;¹ 518

(75)

- "But thogh thy wordes sharpe & stirynges seeme, 519 [leaf 65]
 To many a man / profyten they but lyte;
 They looke a-part / and list take no yeeme
 Vn-to the ende / which mighte hem profyte.
 Yen they haan / and seen nat worth a myte; 523
 but says that many men take no thought of their end,

¹ At foot, in a later hand, "Ouidius de Ponto :

While fortune the favorethe, frendes thow hast plentye;
 The tyme being troublous, thow arte aft alone:
 Thow seest Culvers haunt, howses made white & daintye;
 To the ruynus towre, almoost comethe none /
 In emptie barnes, where faylethe substaunce,
 Happenethe no frende in whome is assurance."

And eres han also / and may nat heere ;
They weenen longe for to lyuen heere. 525

(76)

" And for they, vndisposid deeth nat dreede,¹ 526
fforsighte at al / ne haau tho wrecches noon
Of the harm / which ther-of moot folwe neede,
They deemen stonde as sikir as a stoon ;
But weel y see / by thee / so moot y goon, 530
They shuln haan cause / it for to dreede & doute,
Or þat hir lyues light / be fully oute. 532

but they'll
have cause to
fear.

(77)

When sickness comes to them, " Whan dethes messenger comth / sharp seeknesse, 533
ffreendes and felawes hem haaste & hye,
The seeke man to conforte of his feblesse,
And al thyng þat good is / they prophecie ; 536
They seyn / " thogh thow seeke in thy bed now lye,
Be nat agast / no dethes euel haast thow,
ffor this / thow shalt eschape wel ynow." ² 539

their friends say
they'll not die ;

(78)

[leaf 65, back] " Thus bodyes freendes been maad enemys 540
To the soule / for whyl seeknesse greeueth
The man continually / yit so vnwys
Is he / þat his enformours he wel leeueth ;
He hopith to been hool / and he mischeeueth 544 .
where as he wende han recouered be ;
Vndisposid to dye / sterueth he. 546

but they perish,
unprepared.

(79)

" Right so thyn herknars and thyn Auditours, 547
Tho þat greet trust han in mannes prudence,
Nat list hir peynes putte, or hir labours,

¹ Later scribble at side : " Hund . . nb . . . Thomas . . . Ch
... Thomas." (For 'vndisposed deeth' see 200/590).

² At foot, in a later hand, " Martialis, lib. 12 :

Yf thow wilt eschew Bytter aduenture,
And avoyde the knowinge of a pensive harte,
Sette in no one persoune wholly thie pleasure,
The lesse shalt thoue yoye, but lesse shalt thoue smarte / "

To execute thyn holsum sentence ;
 Thow mightist as wel keepe thy silence ; 551
 They by thy wordes yeuen nat a leeke."

¶ To which, thymage thus answerde & speeke :

(80)

"ffor thy, whan they in dethes net been hent,
 Whan sodein wrecchidnesse hem shal assaill,
 Whan deeth, as tempest sharp & violent,

¶ Idcirco /
 cum laqueo
 mortis capti
 fuerint / cum
 irruerit re-
 pentina cala-
 mitas, & in-
 teritas quasi
 tempestas
 ingruerit &c

The dying man
 says that when

With woful trouble hem shal vexe & trauaill,
 They shuln crie aftir help / and ther-of faill, 558
 ffor they in hate / sapience hadde,
 And despyred my reed / & heeld it badde.¹

they cry for help,
 they shan't get it.

560

(81)

"And right as now ther been but fewe fownde, 561

pat of my wordes conpunct wole hir lyf

Correcte / ne amende in no stownde,

Nat may to hem auaille my motyf,

But they / hir synnes vsen ay foorth ryf, 565

And han no lust / fro synnes hem withdrawe,

No more / than they neuere had herd my sawe: 567

(82)

"Right so for the malice of tyme / and lak' 568

Of goostly loue / and for the iniquitee

Of the world / vertu gooth so faste a-bak',

pat fewe to the deeth disposid be

So weel / pat list this worldes vanitee 572

Leue / and for desir of lyf / pat shal euere

Endure / coueiten hens to disseuere. 574

or give up the
 vanities of the
 world;

(83)

"But whan deeth on hem stelith with hir darte, 575

They vnree dy / wowndid in conscience,

Nat oonly goon hens / whan they hens departe /

so that when
 Death comes,

¹ At foot, in a later hand: "In tyme of prosperitie, a man shal not knowe his frendes, and in aduersitie an enemye with not be hidde." "Yf thou be ashamed to speeke evett, be more ashamed to doe the same."

they're carried
off by force.

But they with a manere of violence
Been hent away / so þat ful greet prudence 579
They wolde han hold it / han deid as a man
And nat as a beest / þat no reson can.¹ 581

(84)

[leaf 66, back]
The cause of
their neglect is

worldly pleasure,
and covetousness.

¶ "If of this commun peril, thenceson² 582
Thee lyke knowe / y wole it now expresse :
The desir of honours out of reson,
The body bathynge in worldly swetnesse,
Eerthely loue / and to greet greedynesse 586
In muk-hepynge / blynden many an herte,
And causen men in-to tho perils starte. 583

(85)

Learn by me to
avoid this end,

"If thow desire / the perils to flee 589
Of vndisposed deeth / my Conseil heere :
This heuy plyt / in which thow seest now me,
Reuolue ofte in thy mynde / & by me leere
ffor to be waar / if thow in this maneere 593
Wilt do / it shal be thy greet auantage,
And ese thee at thy laste passage ; 595

(86)

and find death
the beginning
of eternal bliss.

"It shal vn-to thee profyte in þat hour,
þat nat oonly dye it shal nat thee gaste,
But deeth / eek as eende of worldly labour,
And begynnynge of blisse / ay þat shal laste /
Abyde thow shalt / and desire faste 600
With al thyn herte / it to take & receyue,
And al worldly lust leye a-part & weyue. 602

¶ Ex eo nam-
que proficitur /
ut non solum
mori non ti-
meas / verum
etiam mortem
&c

¹ At foot, in a later hand :

"The good or evell fortune of all a mans lyffe,
Ys in the good or evell chowsinge his frend or his wiffe."

² At top, in a later hand : "Woman cam of syd of a doog
wherfor I beseech the to . . ." At side : "W. Barnabe" . . "To
the right worshipfull . . . master Hanna (!) . . He that hath"
. . "Thomas Carter."

(87)

"Euery day haue of me deep remembrance¹; 603 [leaf 67]
Remember my
 In-to thyn herte / let my wordes synke;
 The sorwe and angwiss^h & greuouse penance grievous punish-
ment,
 Which thow haast seen in me / considere / & thynke
 That of peril / thogh² art ful ny the brynke; 607
 Remembre on my doom / for swich shal thyn be;
 Myn yistirday / and this day vn-to thee. 609

(88)

"Looke vp-on me / & thynke on this nyght ay 610 and think how
 Whyles thow lyuest / o how good & blessid
 Art thow Arsenius³ / which pat alway
 This ilke hour haddeest in thyn herte impressid,
 pat man / as in holy writ is witnessid, 614
 Which whan god comth and knokkith at the yate,
 Wakyng him fynt / he blessid is algate; ¶ Beatus quem
cum venerit domi-
nus & pulsauerit
&c

(89)

Blessid is he pat thanne founden is 617 blessed is he who
is ready to die,
 Reedy to passe / for he blissfully
 Departe shal / and truste right wel this,
 Thogh deeth assaith and vexe greuously
 The rightwys man⁴ / or slee him sodeynly, 621
 How so he dye / he shal go to⁵ pat place ¶ Quicumque
eum morte &c
 Where-as confort is / refresshyng & grace. 623

(90)

He shal be pouged cleene & purified, 624 [leaf 67, back]
 And disposid the glorie of god to see;
 Angels shuln keepe him / & he shal be gyed

¹ Latin scribble at top and sides: "wo . . woman, man sent woman . . Father and mother . . w . . sir Iohn) . . th . . the Father . . A Thowsand, a hundreth, fyve and fyfty / I Love / . . . voman mast . . Vm . . women" . . "Pardye, I sayd yt not / nor never yt Intended /" . . "Barnard" (?) . . "Choos and Crave not, quod Carter."

² for "thow."

³ Arcenius A.

⁴ The good lyuer A.

⁵ he gooth vn-to A.

And led by Citeins of the hy Contree,
 And to the Court of heuene vp taken be ; 628
 And of his spirit / shal be the issynge,
 In-to eternel blisse / the entrynge.¹ 630

(91)

But wher shall my wretched
 soul go ? But allas / where shal my wrecchid goost <sup>¶ Red hem me
 miserrum &c.</sup>
 This nyght become / whidir shal it go ?
 What herbergh shal it haue / or in what coost
 Shal it arryue / who shal receyue it / who ?
 O ! what frendshipe / shal it haue tho ? 635
 O soule abiect / desolat & forsake,
 Greet cause haast thow / for fere & wo to qwake. 637

(92)

I shed tears, " Wherefore y, hauynge of my self pitee, 638
 Amonges heuy wordes / y out shede
 Teres / in greet habundance & plentee ;
 But in vain. But nat auaillith me / it is no drede.
 Hens-foorth compleyne / weepe² & crye & grede, 642
 ffor in no wyse / changed it be may ;
 Al man-kyndes fo / stoppid hath my way. 644

(93)

[leaf 68] " In hidles, in awayt as a Leoun³ 645
 He hath leyn / & my soule led hath he
 In-to the pit of deeth al deepe adoun.
 O God, I can O my lord god / this sharp aduersitee,
 speak no more : To stynte of speeche / now compellith me : 649
 y may no more hens-foorth / speke & bewailh,
 My tonge and eeke my wit / now so⁴ me failh. 651

(94)

I shall die
 at once. " Ther is noon othir / y see wel ynow 652
 The tyme is come / as blyue y shal be deed ;

¹ Later scribble at side : " he shal be . . H. 5, 3. "² weepe and compleyne A.³ Later scribble at side : " Gefferye thirgood . . Ryght . .
 gefferye thir . . put to . . p p p p p p p . . put to . . to the sayd
 gefferyth de vez . . th . . . d d d. " ⁴ so now A.

See how my face wexith pale now,
 And my look ful dym / &¹ heuy as leed;
 Myn yen synke eeke / deepe in-to myn heed, 656
 And torne vp so down / and myn hondes two
 Wexen al stif and starke / & may nat do; 658

(95)

" Prikkynges of deeth me, wrecche, conpace; ¶ Puncture
 Stirtemeel gooth my pows² / and elles naght; *mortis amar-*
 Mortel pressures / sharply me menace, *issime me*
 My breeth begynneth failt / and eeke the draght *circumdat* My pulse beats
 Of it fro fer is fet / & deepe caght; 663 *&d* by starts,
 No lengere y now see this worldes light; *my eyes fail.*
 Myn yen lost han hir office & might. 665

(96)

" But now y see with myn yen mental³ 666 [leaf 68, back]
 Thestat of al⁴ an-othir world than this;
 I am ny goon / as faste passe y shal;
 O my lord god / a gastful sighte it is!
 Now of confort haue y greet lak' & mis; 670 I have no comfort.
 Horrible feendes and innumerable
 Awayte vp-on⁵ my soule miserable;⁶ 672

(97)

" The blake-faced ethiopiens 673 Black Ethiops
 Me enuyrone / and aftir it abyde surround me.
 To hente it / whan þat it shal passen hens,
 If þat par auenture it so betyde
 þat the lot ther-of / faht vp-on hir syde; 677
 hir viserly⁷ faces, grim & hydous,
 Me putte in thoghtful dreedes encombrous. 679

¹ dun my look and as A.² pous A; powr D.³ Later pencil writing at top: "Thomas Wylton) of kyrke Landes whare I doo moste humbly Bygge [?] that (lf. 69, top) this Byll mayd the iiijth days of may in) ye yer."⁴ al of A.⁵ Awayten on A.⁶ The Ashburnham MS ends.⁷ grisly Reg.

(98)

- The stern Judge condemns me. ¶ "O streit and steerne Iuge & domesman, 680
 [1 weyest me R.] Thow weyest¹ moche / in deemyng me, wrecche,
 Tho thynges whiche fewe folkes can
 But smal by sette / or of hem charge or recche ;
 Lo / deethes strooke haastith me hens to fecche ; 684
 [2 eke Reg.] My membres, shee² so thirlith & distressith,
 That nature ouercome is / shee witnessith. 686

(99)

- [leaf 69] "O gastful is the iust Iuges lookynge 687
 Vn-to me, now present / thurgh fere & dreede,
 which sodeynly shal come / him self sheewynge.
 Farewell, friends: ¶ ffar-wel, freendes & felawes / for neede ¶ O terribilis as-
 Moot y vnclothe me of lyues weede ; spectus iusti iudicii
 To purgatorie y shal as streight as lyne, subito timore /
 ffor myn offenses / ther to suffre pyne ; subito venturus
 &c.
 ¶ Nunc valet
 socij &c. . .

(100)

- "And then twynne y nat / til maad haue y gree 694
 Of the leeste ferthyng þat y men shal ;
 I shall go to In whiche place y beholde and see
 Affliccioun and sorwe ynow at al ;
 There y no ioie see, but wo oueral ; 698
 fiery flames, The fyry flaumes vp-on heichte ryse,
 In which / the soules brenne in woodyl wyse. 700

(101)

- "They vp now possid been / & now down throwe, 701
 Right as sparckes of fyr / aboute sprede,
 Whan þat a greet toun / set is on a lowe,
 And al is fyred / bothe in lengthe & brede.
 where souls in Wo been tho soules / in tho brondes rede, 705
 torment cry ffor payne of which torment / ful lowde & hye
 They in this wyse / ful pitously crye :³ 707

³ Later scribble at side and foot : "Richard Lyon . . god haue mercie vpon all Crysten soules . . and yf thou . . knewest Thouu knewest . . 869 . . v . . 12" . . 'hast' . . 'hayll mygh &' . .

(102)

¶ "Now, mercy haue on our captiuitee ; 708 [leaf 69, back]
 To yow our freendes / namely we preye ; ¶ Pro dolore
 Wher is your help now / wher is your chiertee? clamant
 Whidir been the promesses goon to pleye singule &
 Of yow, our Cousins eeke / can yee portreye dicunt /
 Your wordes so gayly¹/ and effect noon Misere-
 ffolwith / but al as deed is as a stoon? mini mei / misere-
 ¶ [ghostly Reg.]

(103)

"By youre desires inordinat,
 And eeke of othir² mo / our self han we
 Broght in-to this plyt and wrecchid estat ; 717
 Ioie han we noon / but of wo greet plentea.
 Allas / why nat vp-on vs reewen yee? 719
 We dide al our might / to do yow plesance ;
 And yee no routhe han / on our sharp greuance. 721
 ¶ [And other
 folkes Reg.]

(104)

"fful euele we rewarded been of yow ; 722
 We brenre / and yee the fyr nat qwenche a deel. ¶ They reproach
 Allas! we nadden for our self or now their friends
 Y-doon / we were auysid no thyng weel ; for not helping
 Worldly trust is / as slipir as an eel ; 726
 Al is nat trewe / þat the world promettith ;
 fful wys is he / þat ther-by litil settith.³ 728

(105)

"The leeste torment of this purgatorie 729
 þat we souffren / exceedith in sharpnesse ¶ [leaf 70]
 Tormentes all of the⁴ world transitorie. Their torments
 ¶ [this Reg.]
 Heere, of torment / more is the bittirnesse
 In an hour / then the worldes wikkidnesse 733
 May hurte or greeue in an .C.⁵ yeer : ¶ [hundred Reg.]
 Greet is thaffliccioun þat we han heer. 735

¹ Later scribble at side (repeated from leaf 61, p. 192 n. above):

"No kinde of labore is a thinge of shame,
 but idelnes evermore worthi of blame.

love is the occupacion or busines of idle Folkes, that haue no thinge
 ells to sett themselves & worke with-all." In the beginning.

(106)

	" But aboue alle kyndes of tormentis,	736
God's face they never see.	Of goddes blissid face the absence Greeueth most / þat lak ^t , our moost ¹ wofull sentis : ¹	
[1— ¹ Reg. 17 D vi.]	ffor a memorie / leue y this sentence To thee / and heere y die in thy presence."	740
The Disciple sees the man is dead.	¶ Whan the disciple sy þat he was past And deed / he tremblid and was sore agast ;	742

(107)

	Aboute he torned him / and thus seide he :	743
He appeals to Wisdom for help.	¶ " Wher art thou now / o sapience eterne ? O / good lord, haast thou now forsaken me ? Wilt thou thy grace me denye and werne ? Thow seidest / ' sapience y sholde lerne ; '	747
	And now y am broght to the deeth almoost, So troublid is my spirit & my goost.	749

(108)

[lear ^t 70, back]	" This sighte of deeth so sore me astoneth,	750
The sight of death	þat wite y can vnnethe in soothfastnesse, But am in doute / wher the soothe woneth, That is to meene / if this be in liknesse	
has mazed him.	Or in deede / swich is my mazidnesse ;	754
	But how it be / lord, y byseeche thee, Be my confort in this perplexitee !	756

(109)

Its perils	" Neuere the perils of deeth vndisposid	757
[² self Reg.]	In my lyf ² kneew I, as y do now right ; Withyn myn herte been they deepe enclosid, And so sadly / ther-in picchid and pight, þat hem foryete / lyth nat in my myght.	761
have sunk into his heart.	That gastful sighte / y hope shal profyete Vn-to my soules helthe / nat a lyte.	763

(110)

[¹ — ² Nodwellynge place, haue I espied, ne Han we here Reg.]	s " Dwellynge place / y haue espyd, and see, Han we noon ³ / in this wrecchid world changeable.	
---	---	--

ffor why / vn-to þat blisful hy contree
 which nat may varie / but is permanable,
 Shape y me streeche / o lord god merciable,
 Y mercy axe / vp-on me, wrecche, reewe !
 Hens forward / wole y lede a lyf al neewe.

768 He prays for
 God's mercy,

770

(111)

“ Now lerne for to die / y me purpose ;
 Hens-foorth / penance wole y nat delaye ;
 My lyf to amende wole y me dispose ;
 ffor syn thoghtes of deeth / so me esmaye /
 Wel more y am seur / deeth me shal affraye
 Whan þat eschue / y shal nat hir presence ;
 O, ther thyn help / eterne sapience !¹

771 [leaf 71]
 and promises to
 learn how to die,
 by repentance
 and amendment.

775

777

(112)

“ Now wole y voide fethirbeddes softe,
 The pilwes nesshe / and esy materas
 On whiche my careyne / hath tymes ofte
 Walkid and leyn / now stande I in swich cas
 þat me thynkith / al greet folie it was.
 Of clothyng eeke, fy on the precioustee,
 And slouthe of sleep also lettyng me.

778 He will give up
 feather beds

782

784 and choise
 clothes,

(113)

“ Syn y tormentid am so greuously
 With thynges smale / how sorwes so grete
 Souffre mighte y, if now die sholde y,
 þat neuere or this / my synnes kowde lete ?
 O. what matire / of helle fyr / the hete
 Mighte in me thanne fynde / certes greet,
 ffor which / my body of cold swoot is al weet.

785

789

791

(114)

“ Now woot I weel / what thyng þat may auaiht
 My soule / and it keepe fro perisschyng :
 By souffrance of greet labour & trauaiht,
 And exercyse of vertuous lyuyng,

792 [leaf 71, back]

and will take
 to labour and
 virtuous life.

¹ Later scribble in margin : “sapience . . presence . . softe.”

Wole y it helpe / left al tarynge, 796
 þat in swich an houres extremittee,
 No payne / but reste, fynde may shee. 798

(115)

“ O holy and mercyful Sauueur, ¶ O sancte & misericors saluator,
 Of so bitter deeth / souffre me nat dye, tam amara morti
 Thogh y be thikke wrappid in errour ! ne tradas me !
 See / beforñ thee / plat on the grownd y lye,
 Weepyngē / for myn excessyf folye ; 803
 And, curteys lord / of thy benigneitee,
 This grace vouche-sauf to grante me, 805

(116)

and prays for punishment here “ Aftir thy lust / be my punysshement 806
 Whyle y am heere / and, good lord, nat reserue
 To othir place / the chastisement
 Which þat y, wrecche / heere in this world disserue !
 let me abyē it heere / or þat y sterue, 810
 ffor in þat place horrible / is swich sharpnesse
 Of payne / þat no wight can it expresse. 812

Instead of here-
after.

(117)

[leaf 72] ¶ “ O how vnwys or this haue y been ay, 813
 Tho’ he has here- Syn þat deeth vndisposid and the payne
 Of purgatorie / y kowde by no way
 Considere / ne how it kowde distreyne.
 tofore set his heart on vain things, Set was myn herte in othir thoghþes veyne, 817
 þat yaf me lettyngē and impediment
 To thyñke vp-on the perils consequent ; 819

(118)

“ But now, thurgh fadirly amonestyngē, ¶ Sed nunc paterne
 My myndes yen þat cloos were and shit / almonitus oculis
 I opne / and of tho perils am dredyngē.” aperis, &c.
 he now fears Death. ¶ And sapience ansueerde anon to it :
 Wisdom bids him amend while he is young, “ My sone / to do so / it is greet wit, 824
 Whiles thou yong art / & haast strengthe & force ;
 Thy lyf for to correcte / thee enforce. 826

(119)

- " Whan þat deeth cometh / which cruel and fel is, 827
 Whom thou nat maist withstonde ne withsitte /
 Help ne refuyt / is ther for thee noon ellis /
 But to the mercy of god / thee committe, and betake him to
God's mercy.
 By no way / þat nat leue ne ommitte; 831
 My passioun putte eeke / twixt my doom & thee,
 Lest more than neede is / adrad thou be. 833

(120)

- " My rightwisnesse nat so mochil dreede 834 [leaf 72, back]
 þat thou fro trust and hope of mercy twynne;
 Contrytly mercy axe / and thou shalt speede.
 Now restfullere in thy goost be withynne,
 þat ouer ferd art / thee pouрге of thy synne, 838
 Scourge thy self / with repentances rod;
 Begynnynge of wisdom / is dreede of god. 840 The fear of God
is the beginning
of wisdom.

(121)

- ¶ " Scriptures serche / & by hem shalt thou leere 841
 þat vn-to man is it greet auantage,
 Deeth to haue ofte in mynde, in this lyf heere. 843
 If yeeres manye / and vn-to good age ¶ Si annis, inquit
sapient, multis vi-
xit homo / & in
omnibus hijs letis
fuerit / meminisse
debet tenebrarum
temporis, &c)
 Man lyue / and in all hem glad & sauage
 Be / good is, the dirke hour & dayes wikke Let him remem-
ber Death in
time,
 Remembre / or þat he come to the prikke;

(122)

- " ffor whan þat tyme is comen, and þat hour, 848
 Repreued shal be the past vanitee;
 Remembre therfore on thy Creatour and his Creator
in his youth.
 In thy fresch youthe & lusty iolitee,
 Or tyme come of sharp aduersitee, 852
 And or þat yeeres approche of disese,
 In whiche thou wilt seyn / they nat thee plesse. 854

(123)

[leaf 73]	And, or asshen in-to hir eerthe also ¹	855
	Where-of they were / ageyn hem thidir dresse,	
	And thy spirit to god / whens it cam fro	
	Retourne / god, with al thyn herte blisse,	
	Thanke him / shewe vn-to him thy kyndenesse;	859
The way of sal- vation is open.	ffor he to thee now opned hath the way	
	Wherthurgh thou maist be sauēd, is no nay.	861

(124)

Few think of the unstableness of the world,	"fful fewe been / þat so with hertes ere,	862
	Konne apparceyue thinstabilitē	
	Of the world / and konne of the deeth han fere,	
	Which þat alway lyth in awayt pryuee,	
and the ever- lasting joy of heaven.	Ne þat of the ioie and felicitē	866
	Of heuene / which ay shal laste & endure,	
	Take any mēnere heede at al / or cure.	868

(125)

	¶ "Lifte vp thyn yen ² / looke aboute & see	869
	Diligently / how many folkes blynde	[² MS. then]
	In hir conceites now a dayes be;	
They shut the eyes of their mind,	They close & shitte the yen of hir mynde;	
	They nat keepe, in hir conceit serche & fynde	873
	Vn-to what ende / needes they shuln drawe,	
	And al for lak of dreede of god, and awe.	875

(126)

[leaf 73, back]	"They stoppe hire eres / for they nat ne keepe	876
	Heere how conuerted be / and receyue helthe;	
	Correccion is noon / they let it sleepe;	
and are drunk with this world's wealth. But Death shall bring them to perdition.	They been so drunken of this worldes welthe,	
	That deeth, or they be waar / right in a stelthe	880
	ffallith up-on hem / which condicioun	
	Hem cause shal hastyf perdicion.	882

¹ Later scribble at top and side, with monograms or figures: "(?) Sauēd Edmedye . . now must I die, and have not deferred . . Harrison late ffr . . . To my approved ffrende m^r Geaven (!) . . . try and then trust, quod bodytt . . peace and Grace be with yow, frome god the father for euer and euer . . W. W . . . W . . n."

(127)

"The peple now let seen innumerable 883
 þat for deeth vndisposid / lost han be /
 Considere / and if thy wit be ther-to able /
 Noumbre of hir multitude the plentee
 Eeke of hem þat in thy tyme with thee 887 See how many
have died during
your own life,
 Dwelt han / looke how þat they been take away :
 Thow seest wel / they from hens been past for ay ; 889

(128)

"And as they heere han do / so shuln they haue. 890
 What multitude in yeeres fewe ago,
 Thee yit lyuyng / han leid been in hir graue !
 What brethren / Cousins / felawes and mo brothers, com-
panions, &c.
 Of thy knowleche / beholde alle tho ! 894
 Thyne eeke, with hem / hire olde synne goon is ;
 Touche vn-to hem / speke and axe hem of this, 896

(129)

"And they with wepyng and with waymentyng 897 [leaf 74]
 Shuln to thee seye / and thus ageyn answer :
 ' Blessid is he / þat can see the endyng,
 And synnes / þat the soule hurte & dere,¹
 Eschue can / and hem flee and forbere ;' 901
 And þat in my Conseil hath good sauour,
 Disposyng him alway vn-to þat hour. 903

(130)

"And therfore / alle vicious thynges left, 904 Therefore prepare
to die.
 Weel thee dispose / and reedy make thee
 To dye / lest the tyme be thee reft
 Or þat thou be waar / for no certeintee
 Haast thou ther-of / thou art no thyng pryuee 908
 Ther-to / deeth is nat fer / right atte yate
 Shee is / be reedy for to dye algate ! 910

¹ In margin, later : "John Jarlin, & Elizabethe his wellevnde Wiffe, dme." At foot : "Ryghte wellbeloued father and mother."

(131)

Look so to your
soul before you
go hence,
that you may
gain life ever-
lasting.

¶ "Right as a Marchant stondynge in a port, 911
his ship þat charged is with marchandyse
To go to fer parties / for confort
Of him self / lookeþ / þat it in sauf wyse
Passe out / Right so, if thou wirke as the wyse, 915
See to thy soule so / or thow hens weende,
þat it may han the lyf þat haath noon eende. 917

Amen!"

¶ Explicit illa pars / per quam sciendum est mori.

(132)

[leaf 74, back]
The other 3 Parts
of this treatise,

I'm too great
a fool

The othir .iiij. partes which in this booke 918
Of the tretice of deeth expressid be,
Touche y nat dar / þat labour y forsooke,
ffor so greet thyng / to swich a fool as me
Ouer chargeable is, by my leantee, 922
To medle with / ynow the firste part
ffor my smal konnyng is / and symple art ; 924

(133)

to english in ryme,
so I'll do it in
prose,

But as the .ix.^e lesson which is rad 925
In holy chirche / vp-on all halwen day
witnessith / syn it ioieful is and glad
ffor hem þat hens shuln wel departe away,
And to the blisse go þat lastith ay, 929
Translate wole y / nat in rym, but prose,
ffor so it best is / as þat y suppose, 931

(134)

and tell of the
joys of the
heavenly city
Jerusalem.

How greet ioie and blisse / is shapen to hem 932
þat so shuln passe hens / vp to the Citee
Callid celestial, Ierusalem.
Aftir our might and possibilitee
Let vs considere / al thogh it so be, 936
That for to comprehende þat gladnesse,
Verrailly / no wit may, ne tonge expresse. 938

¹ Lo, thus is seid of þat Citee in a place / There-in
 is no sorwe / heuynesse ne waymentynge. what
 is more blisful / than þat lyf is / where no
 dreede is of pouerte / of maladie / no feeblenesse /
 there is no wight hurt / no wight wrooth / no wight
 hath enuye / ther is no brennynge or hete of couetyse /
 no desir of mete / noon ambicioun of honour or of
 power / no dreede of the feend / noon awaytes of
 deuiles / the fere of heñ / fer thens / no deeth of body
 ne soule / but ioieful yiftes and iocounde of immor-
 talitee / there shal neuere be discord / stryf ne debat /
 but alle thynges conuenient and accordynge / no diui-
 sion, but onhede / for ther shal been o concord of añ
 seintes / o pees & gladnesse continuel / añ thynges
 peisible / añ in quiete and reste / there is an excellent
 brightnesse and shynynge / nat this light / þat now is /
 but in so mochil cleerere / as it is bettre and more
 noble / for, as it is red / "þat Citee shal noon neede
 haue of the sonnes light / but our lord god al-mighty
 shal enlumyne it" / & the lamb is his lanterne / where
 as seintes shuln shyne as sterres in perpetuel eternitees /
 and as the shynynge of the firmament þat spredith his
 bemes vp-on many men / wherfore in þat place is no
 nyght / no dirknesses / no concours of clowdes / no
 fretynge cold / no sharpnesse / but swich attemperance
 of thynges shal be there / whiche neither ye of man
 neuere sy / ne ere herde / ne herte can thynke ne com-
 prehende / sauf of hem þat been worthy & han dis-
 serued to haue þat blisse / whos names arn writen in
 the booke of lyf / & whiche wasshid hir stoles in the
 lambes blood / & been befor the See of god / and
 serue him day and nyght / noon age is there / ne
 miserie or wrecchidnesse of age / whyles añ shul been
 o parfyt body, o parfyt man, in the mesure of the ful
 age of Cryst / [No break in MS.]

[1 leaf 75]

No sorrow is
there, or wailing,

no envy,

no fear of hell,

no strife;

but unity,

peace,

brightness.

God lights it.

[2 leaf 75, back]

There, is no night
or cold, but joys
unthinkable;[Robert as-
cue', later,
at side.]no misery,
but one perfect
body in Christ.

¶ And abouen añ thynges / is to been associated to

There folk
company with
Angels,

and Saints,

and see Martyrs

[leaf 76]

and Virgins.

The chief of all
joys is,

to see the bright-
ness of God.

Win this realm
by good works.

The Kingdom
of Heaven is
taken by assautes
of Virtue.

It seeks no other
prize but thee.

As Christ gave
Himself for thee,
[leaf 76, back]
give thyself for
Him,

the conpaignies of the trones / dominacions / Principatz
& potestatz of Angels & Archangels / & to been in the
conpaignie of all the celestial and hy vertues / & to
beholde the conpaignie of seintes, brightere & yeuyng
more light than the sterres / shynynge in the feith of
Patriarks / gladyng & ioyyng in the hope of prophetes
deemyng the world of apostles in .xij. tribes of Israel /
& to beholde eke the shynynge of martirs with pur-
purat corones of victorie / and to see the conpaignies
of virgines weryng brighte gerlandes. [No break in
MS.]

¶ And for to speke of the kyng þat sittith in the
middles of hem / no vois ther-to souffisith / it may nat
be told ne expressid / that honour / þat vertu / þat
magnificence and þat glorie exceedith and passith all
wittes & intellectes of man / and passynge all the
seintes ioies / is to beholde the inestimable brightnesse
of þat kyng / & to be spred with the bemes of his
magestee / let thise thynges sadly synke in-to oure
hertes / let vs vnderstande hem with ful feith / let hem
be beloued with alle oure hertes / let hem be goten by
the greetnesse and by the multitude of goode wirkes
and continuel / this thyng is put in the might of the
wirkere / for the kyngdam of heuene souffrith forcible
and mighty assautes of vertu. [No break in the MS.]

¶ O man / this thyng / þat is to seyn, the kyngdam
of heuene, seekith noon othir prys / but thyn owne
self / it is as mochil worth as thou art / yeeue thee / &
thou shalt haue it / what, artow astoned or adrad of the
prys? Cryst yaf him self / to purchace thee the Regne
to god the ffadir / Right so yeue ²thow thy self / þat
thow maist been his kyngdam / and þat no synne regne
in thy mortel and deedly body / but let thy good spirit
regne in thee to purchace thee theternel lyf. ¶ And
therefore, who-so desirith to haue the merites euere
lastynge / he moot de-lyte him to gete hem thurgh

goode and vertuous wirkes / That is the path and the
streight way to blisse endeless / the which he vs
grante, þat boghte vs with his precious blood. Amen!
Amen!

by delighting in
good works.

Now vndirstandith wel and considerith in your
hertes, þat as mochil ioie as ther is in that
blisful place of heuene: as greet sorwe, angwissþ and
torment is in þat othir part in hell / to expresse hem /
needith nat / for they been the reuers and contrarie to
the ioies aboue named / wherby uery persone may
reasonably conceyue þat in þat place of torment the
peynes been merueilleously sharpe & greuous / And yit
for al þat smert / if any ende sholde sue or folwe / that
wolde yeue the soules right hy confort, and greetly
abregge and lesne hir grief / but awayte nat aftir þat /
for it wole nat betyde / for right as the seid ioies been
eternel and ay lastyng: so been tho¹ peynes infynyt
and endeles / And sikirly, syn god of his hy grace and
benigne courtesie hath yeuen vs libertee and freedam
for to purchase by oure wirkes in this present lyfe² þat
oon or þat othir / al standith in our choys and elec-
cioun: to grete fooles been we / but if we² cheese the
bette part / which part, god of his infynyt goodnesse
graunte vs alle to cheese / Amen!

As much joy as
is in Heaven,
so great torment
is in Hell.

And as the joys
are everlasting,
[1 leaf 77]
so are the pains
of Hell.

We can buy
either one
or the other.

God grant us
to choose the
better part.

XXIV.

¶ *Hic additur alia fabula ad instanciam
amici mei predilecti assiduam = = =*

[Prolog.] (1)

This booke thus to han endid had y thoght,
But my freend made me change my cast;
Cleene out of þat purpos hath he me broght:

1 I meant to stop
my book here,

² MS faded

but my friend
preest me to

"Thomas," he seide / "at Estren that was last,
I redde a tale / which y am agast 5
To preye thee, for the laboures sake
That thow haast had / for to translate & make ;¹ 7

(2)

[leaf 77, back]
english another
Tale to warn
young men

"And yit tu. tain wolde y þat it maad were ; 8
Thensaumple of it / to yonge men mighte auaille,
And par cas / cause hem riot to forbere
The rathere / and be bettre of governaiff ;
Youthe in no wyse / wole his thankes faiff, 12
fflessch for to chepe, felmel and venal,
Payyng for it / more than worth is al. 14

against buying
female flesh.

(3)

He said,
bought women
slay the soul,
and empty the
purse.

"þat thyng is deere and ouer deere boghit, 15
That soule sleeth / and the body destroieth,
And the purs emptith, leuyng in it noghit
Or smal / swich chaffare often sythe annoieth,
And yonge folke encombrith and accloieth, 19
Lettyng hem to purchase hem good renoun,
And haastyng hem to hir confusioun.² 21

(4)

And he had a
wild son of 15,

"ffor this is þat y speke / and to this ende : 23
A sone haue y .xv. yeer of age,
ffor whom it is as wisly, god mamende,
þat y desire, in-to our langage
þat tale be translated / for Sauage 26
And wylde is he / and likly to foleye
In swich cas / now helpe if thow maist, y preye. 28

for whom he
wanted the Tale
englisht.

(5)

[leaf 78]

"Nat fer the tale fro / which thow maad haast 29
Of themperice / this tale is, y trowe,
And is of a womman / þat was vnchaast

¹ Later scribble at foot: 'g p d . . This balws (!). At back :
'Thomas . . nn) . . M ⁴.'

² At side, later: 'Mr. Joclyne.'

And deceyuable and sly / as thow shalt knowe
By þat the lyues / thow red haue on rowe.
Brynge y shal thee / the copie verray
There-of / if thee list / seye on yee or nay."

33 It was a *Gesta*
story of a de-
ceitful, unchaste
woman.

(6)

¶ "freend, looth me were nay seye vn-to yow,
But y suppose / it may noon othir be,
Lest wommen vn-to Magge, the good kow,
Me likne / and thus seye / 'o, beholde & see
The double man / o, yondir, lo, gooth he
That hony first yaf / and now yeueth galle:
He fo in herte is / vn-to wommen alle;

36 Hoccleve con-
sents,

lest women
should liken him
to Madge, the
good cow,

(7)

"Til he of wommen oute¹ wordes wikke,
He fastynge is / him seemeth; al the day,
Out of his mowth / lesynges swarmen thikke;
On wommen / no good word / affoorthe he may;
And if he wel speke / or wryte / is no nay,
He nat meueth / as he spekith or writ:
O lewde dotepol / straw for his wit!"

43 and abuse him for
telling lies all day
about them.

(8)

"This þat yee me now reede is al contrarie
Vn-to þat yee me red han heer-before;
Yee senden² / syn y many an aduersarie
Had of wommen / for y mis had me bore
To hem or this: yee redden me therfore
Humble me to hem / and of grace hem preye;
But this reed haldith al an othir weye.

50 [leaf 78, back]
Hoccleve thinks
this Tale incon-
sistent with his
friend's advice
that he shal beg
for women's
favour.

(9)

"Sholde y a neewe smoke now vp reyse,
And y so mochil rered haue or now
By your sawe than were y nat to preise."
¶ "Thomas, to wikkid wommen wel maist thow
Yeue hir pars / & wryte of hem euele ynow;

57

61 His friend says,
"Blaming wicked
women"

¹ out, *vñ.* = utter. [The proof of the next 3½ pages has been lost.]

² for seiden.

is no shame to
good ones.

To goode wommen shal it be no shame,
Al thogh þat thow / vnhest wommen blame; 63

(10)

"No woman 'll
abuse you except
those who've gone
wrong."

"ffor, Thomas / thow shalt vndirstonde this, 64

No womman wole / to thee ward maligne,

But swich oon / as hath trode hir shoo amis;
ffor who so dooth / ful suspect is the signe;¹
The vertuous womman / good and benigne, 68

Noon encheson but good / may han to thee
ffor this tale / wryte on þar charitee! 70

(11)

[leaf 79]
And I want the
Tale, not only for
my son, but to
rebuke women's
wantonness now."

"Nat oonly for my sones tendrenesse¹ 71

Coueite y / þat this tale were makid /

But to rebuke also / the wantonnesse
Of lyf of many a womman / þat is nakid
Of honestee / and with deshounour blakid; 75

Eeke to miroure wommen vertuous!
What ende takith swich lyf vicious?" 77

(12)

So Hoccleve
agrees,

¶ "On goddes half, freend / than let the copie 78

Of þat tale / whan yow list, be me sent;

And with good wil / wole y ther-to me hye

Whan y there-of / take haue auisament."

¶ He glad was ther-with-al / & wel content. 82

gets the story,
and englishes it.

The copie on the morwe sente he me:

And thus y wroot as yee may heere see. 84

¶ Explicit prologus, & incipit
fabula de quadam muliere mala.

¹ Later scribble at top and side:

"He that in yothe no vartue (!) well ves [= use],
in age all honor will hym refuse;
therefore better yt were, a pouer house to holde,
then to lye in preason in fetteres of golde.

Le the Ryght Ryght Reuerent fayther in god, maister bonor,
doctor Wylliam Willon of Kyrke-lande in the dyoule (! MS.)
afore-sade dothe all vnto the . . . thay thay thay that . . . Can
natt, nor may nott, nor yett, I thanke, shall not Lede my Lyfe
quyet-lye; my wyfe well not lett me."

(13)

¹ Somtyme Reg.

- W**hilom¹ an Emperour prudent & wys* 85 [leaf 79, back]
 Regned in Rome / and hadde sones three,
 whiche he hadde in greet chiertee & greet prys ;
 And whan it shoop so / þat thinfirmitee ² ne Reg.
 Of deeth / which no wight may eschue or² flee, 89
 Him threwe down in his bed / he leet do cañ
 His sones / and before him they cam añ ; 91

A Roman Em-
 peror, with three
 sons, is dying,

and senda for his
 sons.

(14)

- And to the firste / he seide in this maneere : 92
 " Al theritage which at the dyyng
 Of my fadir he me lefte : al in feere
 leue y thee ¶ and al þat of my byyng
 was / with my peny / al³ my purchacynge, ³ and R. 96
 My second sone / byqwethe y to thee."
 ¶ And to the .iiij^{de}. sone / thus seide he : 98

To the second,
 his acquired
 property.

(15)

- " Vnmeeble good right noon, withouten coth, 99
 Thee yeue y may / but y to thee dyuyse
 Iewelles .iiij^e. a ryng / brooch & a clooth,
 with whiche / and thou be gyed as the wyse,
 Thou maist gete al þat oghte thee souffyse. 103
 who-so þat the ryng vsith for to were,
 Of alle folke the loue he shal conquere ; 105

To the third,
 three Jewels, a
 Ring, a Brooch,
 and a Cloth.

The Ring 'll get
 its wearer the love
 of every one.

(16)

- " And who so the brooch berith on his brest, 106
 It is eek of swich vertu and swich kynde,
 That thyne vp-on what thyng him lykith best,
 And he as blyue shal it haue & fynde.
 My wordes, sone, enprynte wel in mynde ; 110
 ¶ The clooth eke hath a merueillous nature,
 which þat committed shal be to thy cure : 112

[leaf 80]
 The Brooch 'll
 get him whatever
 he likes.

The Cloth

(17)

- " Who-so sit on it / if he wisse where 113
 In al the world to been / he sodeynly

'll carry any
 sitter on it

* A few of the many differences of the worse MS. Reg. 17 D VI are given in this sheet.

wherever he wishes to go. Without more labour shal be there.
 Sone, tho three Iewelles byqwethe y
 To thee / vn-to this effect certeynly, 117
 The third Son is to study at the University. þat to the studie of the vniuersitee
 Thow go / and þat y bidde and charge thee." 119

(18)

The Emperor dies, Whan he had thus seid¹ / the vexacioun¹ yecide Reg. 120
 Of deeth so haastid him, þat his spiryt
 Anoon forsooke his habitacioun
 In his body / deeth wolde no respyt
 him yeue at al / he was of his lyf qwyt, 124
 and is solemnly buried. And biried was with swich solemnitee
 As fil to his imperial dignitee. 126

(19)

[leaf 80, back] ¶ Of the yongeste sone I telle shal, 127
 I shall tell you only of the third son, Jonathas. And speke no more of his brethren two,
 ffor with hem haue y nat to do² at al. ² done Reg.
 Thus spak the modir, Ionathas vn-to :
 "Syn god his wil hath of thy fadir do,³ 131
 His mother says she'll give him To thy fadres wil / wole y me confourme,
 And trewely / his testament⁴ parfourme : ⁴ entente R. 133

(20)

the three Jewels. "He⁵ .iij. Iewelles / as thow knowest weel, ⁵ Here Reg.
 A ryng / a brooch & a clooth, thee byqweeth,
 Whos vertues / he thee tolde euerydeel
 Or þat he paste hens / & yald vp the breeth.
 But her husband's death sticks in her heart. O goode god / his departynge, his⁶ deeth ⁶ and Reg. 138
 fful greuously stikith vn-to myn herte ; ⁷ I Reg.
 But souffred moot been al / how sore it⁷ smerte." 140

(21)

(Some widows do grieve terribly, In þat cas wommen han swich heynesse, 141
 þat it nat lyth⁸ in my konnyng aright ⁸ lith nat Reg.
 Yow telle of so greet sorwe the excesse,
 but wise ones take it easy, But wyse wommen konne take it light,
 And in short whyle⁹ putte vn-to the flight ⁹ wise R. 145

³ Sithen god hath his wille / of thy fader ydo.--Reg.

Al sorwe and wo / and cacche ageyn confort :
Now to my tale make y my resort. 147

and get comforted
again.)

(22)

¶ “Thy fadres wil, my sone, as y seide eer’, 148 [leaf 81]
wole y parfourme / haue heer the ryng, and go
To studie anoon / and whan þat thou art theer,
As thy fadir thee bad / do euene so ;
And as thou wilt, my blessing haue also.” 152
Shee vn-to him as swythe tooke the ryng,
And bad him keepe it weel / for any thyng. 154

Jonathan's mother
gives him the
Magic Ring,

(23)

He wente vn-to the studie general, 155 and he goes to
Wher he gat loue ynow, and aqueyntance
Right good and frendly / the ryng causynge al.
And on a day / to him befil this chance :
With a womman, a morsel of plesance, 159 He meets a wo-
By the streetes of the vniuersitee
As he was in his walkynge, mette he ; 161 man, a morsel of
pleasure,

(24)

And right as blyue he with hire had a tale, 162
And ther-with-al / sore in hir loue he brente :
Gay / fressh and pykid was shee to the sale, gay and smart,
ffor to þat ende and to þat entente for sale,
Shee thidir cam / and bothe fourth they wente, 166
And he a pistle rowned in hire ere :
Nat woot y what / for y ne cam nat there.¹ 168

(25)

Shee was his paramour, shortly² to seye. * shortly R. 169 [leaf 81, back]
This man to folkes alle was so leef, and takes her
þat they him yaf³ habundance of moneye. ³ vale Reg. as his mistress.
he feestid folke / and stood at hy boncheef ;
Of the lake⁴ of good / he felte no greef, ⁴ lakke Reg. 173

¹ Later scribble at foot : “This biit made the xth daye of
maye In the fy[r]ste yeere of the raygne of ore mooste soueren
lord ky”. Above : “youth . . B . . he . . yow.”

He gets plenty
of money from
his King. Al whyles þat the ryng he with him hadde ;
But faylynge it / his frendshipe gan sadde.¹ 175

(26)

His paramour
Felllicula His paramour, which þat / y-callid was 176
ffellicula / meruailled right greetly
Of the despenses of this Ionathas,
Syn shee no peny at al with him sy ;
And on a nyght / as þat shee lay him by 180
In the bed / thus shee to him spake & seide,
And this peticion assoið him preyde : 182

(27)

prays him, ¶ " O reuerent sire / vn-to whom," quod² shee, 183
" Obeye y wole ay with hertes humblesse,
as he's had her
maidenhead, Syn / þat yee han had my virginitee, ³ koth (always) Reg.
yow y byseeche, of your hy gentillesse,
to tell her where
his riches come
from. Tellith me whens comth the good & riches 187
That yee with feesten folke / and han no stoor,
By aght y see can / ne gold ne³ tresor." ⁴ no coigne in Reg.

(28)

[leaf 82] " If y telle it," quod he / " par auenture 190
Thow wilt deskeuere it / & out it publishe :
He says women
can't keep a
secret. Swich is wommannes inconstant nature,
They can nat keepe conseil worth a risshe ;
Bette is, my tonge keepe / than to wisshe 194
þat y had kept cloos þat is goon at large, ⁵ For Reg.
And⁴ repentance is thyng þat y moot charge." ⁶ 196

(29)

¶ " Nay, goode sire / haldith me nat suspect ; 197
Doutith nothyng ; y can be right secree.
wel worthy were it me to been abiect
ffrom al good compaignie / if y," quod shee,
" Vn-to yow sholde so mis take⁶ me ; ⁷ mystake Reg. 201
Beeth nat adrad your Conseil me to shewe."
he tells her ¶ " wel," seide he / " thus it is, at wordes fewe : 203

¹ At side : " ynof." ² At side : " Robert askewe . . He thð . . Lwillm."

(30)

"My fadir, the ryng which þat thow maist see 204 that his Ring
 On my fyngir / me at his dyyng¹ day ¹ endyng Reg.
 Byqweeth² / which this vertu & propretee ² Dequathe Reg.
 hath / þat the loue of men, he shal haue ay makes men
 þat werith it / and ther shal be no nay, 208 love him,
 Of what thyng þat him lykith axe & craue, and give him
 But with good wil / he shal as blyue it haue 210 all he wants.

(31)

"Thurgh þat rynges vertuous excellence : 211 [leaf 82, back]
 Thus am y ryche, and haue euere ynow."
 ¶ "Now, sire, yit a word, by your licence,
 Suffrith me for to seye and speke now : Fellicula shows
 Is it wysdam / as þat it seemeth yow, 215
 were³ it on your fyngir continuely?" ³ To were Reg.
 ¶ "what⁴ woldest thow mene," quod he,⁴ "ther-by?

⁴ wold ye my love koth he. mene Reg.

(32)

"What peril ther-of mighte ther befall?" 218
 ¶ "Right greet," quod she / "as yee in conpaignye him how easily
 walke often / fro your fyngir mighte it fall, he may lose his
 Or plukkid of been⁵ in a ragerie, ⁵ be plukkid of Reg. Ring off his
 And so be lost / and þat were folie. 222 finger,
 Take it me / let me been of it⁶ wardeyn; ⁶ be therof Reg. and offers to keep
 ffor as my lyf, keepe it wole y⁷ certeyn."⁸ 224 it for him.
⁷ kepe wole I it Reg.

(33)

This Ionathas / this innocent yong man, 225 Poor innocent
 Yeuyng vn-to hir wordes / ful credence,— Jonathas gives
 As youthe nat auysed best be can:— it her,
 The ryng hir tooke, of his insipience.
 Whan this was doon / the hete & the feruence 229

⁸ Later scribble in margin: "harye ollyic xc to caunend [?]. .

Who seketh the renoun to have,
 And eke the prayse of vertuus name
 Of wisdoms ways, he ought to crave
 Withe gladsom will to work the same."

and her love at
once cools,
Of loue / þat he had beforþ purchased,
Was qweynt / & lous knotte¹ was vnaced.² 231
¹ the knotte of love Reg.

(34)

[leaf 88]
and men's gifts
stop.
Men of hir yiftes for to stynte gan : 232
"A," thoghþe he / "for the ryng y nat ne bere,
ffaillith my loue / fecche me, womman,"

Jonathas asks
her for the Ring
again.
Seide he, "my ryng / anoon y wole it were."
She roos / and in-to Chambre dressith here ; 236
And whan shee there-in / hadde been a whyle,
"Allas," quod shee / "out on falshode and gyle, 238

(35)

She declares it's
been stolen.
"The chiste is broken / and the ryng take out." 239
And whan he herde hir conþlaynte and³ cry, ³ and hir R.
He was astoned sore / and made a shout,
And seide / "cursid be þat day þat y
The mette first, or with myn yen sy." 243
She wepte, and shewid outward cheere of wo,
But in hire herte / was it no thyng so ; 245

(36)

(But it was safe
in her box all
the time.)
The ryng was sauf ynow / and in hir cheste 246
It was / al⁴ þat shee seide was lesyng, ⁴ And alle Reg.
As sum womman / oþhir whyle atte beste
Can lye and weepe / whan is hir lykyng.⁵
Jonathas tells her
not to mind.
¶ This man sy hir wo / and seide, "derlyng, 250
Weepe no more / goddes help is ny ;" ⁵ kun weepe and lye.
To him vnwist / how fals shee was and sly.⁶ 252
⁶ at her owen Reg.

³ Later, at side : "*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum* :
Fortunate is he who hathe the happe
to bewarre by an-other mannes clappec."

⁴ In a later hand (? c. 1500), at foot :

"A suffeycent salve for eache disease,
The cheff revenge for cruell yre,
Ys patyence, the present ease
For to delaye eche flamy fyre."

At side :

"I count his conquest greate,
That canne, by reasons scyllie,
Subdue affections heate,
And conquer wanton wyll."

(37)

He twynned thens / and hoom to his Contree, 253 [leaf 83, back]
 Vn-to his modir, the streight way he wente. Jonathas goes
 And whan shee sy / thidir comen¹ was he, ¹ that thidir comes Reg. home to his
 ¶ "My sone," quod shee / "what was thyn entente, Mother,
 Thee fro the scoole / now for to absente? 257
 What causid thee / fro scoole hidir to² hye?" [2 the studye
 ¶ "Modir, right this," seide he / "nat wole y lye: 259 hider Reg.]

(38)

"ffor soothe, modir / my ryng³ is ago; ³ The Ryng that ye me tooke R. 260 and tells her
 My paramour, to keepe y betooke it, his paramour
 And it is lost / for which y am ful wo; has lost his Ring.
 Sorwefully⁴ vn-to myn herte it sit." ⁴ Right greuously Reg.
 ¶ "Sone / often haue y warned thee / & yit 264
 ffor thy profyt y warne thee, my sone;
 Vnhonest wommen / thow heere-aftir shone. 266

(39)

"Thy brooch anon right wole y to thee⁵ fette." 267 ⁵ to the wole I Reg. His Mother gives
 Shee broghte it him / and charged him ful deepe— him his Magic
 Whan he it tooke / and on his brest it sette,— Brooch.
 Bet than he dide his ryng / he sholde it keepe,
 lest he the los / bewaille⁶ sholde and weepe." 271
 To the vniuersitee / shortly to seyn, ⁶ for the losse he walle Reg. He goes back to
 In what he kowde / he haastid him ageyn.⁷ 273 the University,

(40)

And whan he comen was / his paramour⁸ 274 [leaf 84]
 Him mette anon / and vn-to hire him tooke,
 As þat he dide erst / this yong reuelour; and takes up
 Hir conpaignie he nat a deel forsooke, again with his
 Thogh he cause hadde / but, as with the hooke 278 paramour
 Of hir sleighte / he beforne was caght & hent / Fellicula.
 Right so he was deceyued eft & blent. 280

⁷ At foot, later, "Thomas."⁸ In margin, later: "tho . . Gefferye thurgood . . Gefferye thurgood . . Gefferye thurgood . . Dut to th D fayde."

(41)

Jonathas gets
much money
thro his Brooch.

And as thurgh vertu of the ryng before, 281
Of good he hadde habundance & plentee,
while it was w^{it} him / or he hadde it lore!
Right so / thurgh vertu of the brooch, had he
What good him list / shee thogh^te, "how may this be?
Sum pryuee thyng / now causith this richesse:
As dide the ryng / heer-before, y gesse." 287

(42)

Fellicula urges
him to tell her
where his money
comes from.

Wondrynge heer-on / shee preide him, and besogh^te
Bysyly nyght and day / þat telle he wolde 289
The cause of this / but he an othir thogh^te;
He mente / ¹it cloos for him¹ / it kept be sholde;
And a long tyme ²it was / or he² it tolde. 292
Shee kepte³ ay to and to / and seide, "allas
The tyme and hour / þat euere y bore⁴ was!⁵ 294

[¹] cloos fro hir Reg.
² he not to hir Reg.
³ wept Reg.
⁴ she borne Reg.]

(43)

[leaf 84, back]

"Truste yee nat on me, sire!" she seide; 295
"leuer me were be slayn⁶ in this place" ⁶ dede Reg.
By þat good lord / þat for vs alle deide,
Than purpose ageyn⁷ yow any fallace. ⁷ ayenst Reg.
Vn-to yow wole y be, my lyues space, 299
As treewe as any womman in eerthe is
Vn-to a man / doutith no thyng of this." 301

(44)

¶ Smal may⁸ shee do / þat can nat wel byheete, 302
Thogh nat parfoumed be swich a promesse. ⁸ kan Reg.
¶ This Ionathas thogh^te hir wordes ⁹so sweete,
þat he was dronke of the pleasant swetnesse
Of hem / and of his foolish⁹ tendrenesse, 306
Thus vn-to hire he spak and seide tho:
"Be of good confort / why weepist thou so?" 308

He is foolishly
tender,
and tells her.

⁵ At foot, later, "Iohn Bargain / Ann. 1551."⁶ swete

To hym, and of his foolish tendirnesse,

Why makest thou att this wo and hevynesse Reg.

(45)

- ¶ And shee ther-to answerde thus / sobbynge : 309 Fellicula says
 "Sire," *quod* shee / "myn heynessee and dreede
 Is this / y am adrad of the leesyng
 Of your brooch / as almighty god forbeede she's afraid of his
 It happid so" // "now, what so, god thee speede," 313 losing his Brooch.
 Seide he, "woldist thou in this cas consaille?"
 ¶ *Quod* shee, "þat y keepe mighte it,¹ sanz faille." 315 He should let her
¹ I myght it kepe Reg. keep it

(46)

- He seide, "y haue a fere & dreede algate, 316 [leaf 85]
 If y so dide, thou woldest it leese,
 As thou lostist my ryng / now goon but late."
 ¶ "first, god preye y,"² *quod* shee / "þat y nat cheese [² pray I god R.]
 But þat myn herte / as the cold frost may freese, 320
 Or elles be it brent / with wyld fyr;
 Nay / seurlly it to keepe / is my desyr." 322 safe for him.

(47)

- To hir wordes / credence he yaf³ pleneer, ³ he yafe credence R. Jonathan gives
 And the brooch tooke hire / and aftir anoon, 324 her the Brooch,
 Where-as he was befor ful leef & cheer⁴ ⁴ ders Reg. and loses his
 To folke / and hadde good / al was agoon : money and
 Good and frendshiþe him lakkid / ther was noon. 327 friends.
 "Womman / me fecche the brooch," *quod* he, "swythe⁵ He asks for the
 In-to thy chambre for it go / now hy the!"⁶ 329 Brooch again.

(48)

- ⁵ the brooch me fette. he seide now Reg.
⁶ go therfore. and tarye nat thou Reg.
 Shee in-to Chambre wente / as þat he⁷ bad, ⁷ he hir Reg.
 But she nat broghite / þat he sente hir fore ; 331
 Shee mente it nat / but as shee had be mad,
 hir clothes hath shee al to-rent & tore, Fellicula tears
 And cryde, "allas / the brooch away is bore ! 334 her clothes,
 ffor which y wole anoon right, with my knyf and says the
 My self slee / y am weery of my lyfe." 336 Brooch is gone:
 she'll kill herself.

⁴ Later, at side : "Hoind . . ¶ God, my duty don, I humble
 commend me vnto you, trustinge In the lonyng god long to
 conteneue."

(49)

[leaf 85, back] This noyse he herde / & blyue he to¹ hir ran, ¹ blive vnto R.
 weenyng shee wolde han doon as shee spak²; 337
 Jonathas takes And the knyf, in al haaste pat² he can, ² as hastily as Reg.
 the knife out of her hand, ffrom hire tooke / & threew³ it behynde his bak;
 And seide / "for the los / ne for the lak³ ³ caste Reg. 341
 and forgives her. Of the brooch / sorwe nat / y foryeue al;
 I truste in god / pat yit vs helpe he⁴ shal." ⁴ he vs helpe R.

(50)

He goes back To themperice his modir / this yong man 344
 again to his Ageyn him dressith / he⁵ wente hire vn-to. ⁵ dressed. and R.
 Mother, And whan shee sy him / shee to wondre gan;
 Shee thoghte / 'now sumwhat ther is mis-do';
 And seide / "y dreede thy Iewelles two 348
 Been lost now / per cas the brooch⁶ with the ryng."
 and tells her his ¶ "Modir," he seide / "yee / by heuene kyng." 350
 Brooch is lost. ⁶ the brooch per cas Reg.

(51)

¶ "Sone, thou woost wel / no Iewel is left 351
 Vn-to thee now / but⁷ the clooth precious, ⁷ save Reg.
 Which y thee take shal / thee charyng eft,
 She warns him The conpaignie of wommen riotous
 against riotous Thow flee / lest it be to thee so greuous 355
 women, That thow it nat susteene shalt,⁸ ne here:
 Swich conpaignie, on my blessyng, forbere!" ⁹ 357
⁸ ne shalt not it sustene Reg.

(52)

[leaf 86] The clooth shee fette / and it hath¹⁰ him take,¹¹ 358
 and gives him his Magic Cloth. And of his lady his modir, his locue ¹⁰ it fette . and hath it Reg.

⁹ By a later hand in the margin :

"Know er thou kyntt, and then thow mayst slake;
 yf thou kyntt er thou know, then hyt ys to late, &c,"

(see pages 124, 152, above : footnotes).

"He that wyll not whan he maye,
 Whan he wolde, he shall haue naye."

At foot, upside down :

"Better hyt hys, seeten to abyde,
 then hastily to clym, and hastily to clyde [glyde]."

¹¹ Later scribble at top and side : "Hary ollyeux (?) Ha Mollynex . .
 This it good . . hys feyndes . . to vnderstand . . mihm . ."

He tooke / but first this forward gan he make :

¶ "Modir," seide he / "trustith this weel, & leue

þat y shal seyn / for sooth yee shul it preeue : 362

If y leese this clooth / neuere y your face

Hens-foorth se wole / ne yow preye of grace. 364

Jonathas says
he'll never see
his Mother again
if he loses his
Cloth.

(53)

"With goddes help / y shal do wel ynow." 365

Hir blessing he tooke / and to studie is go ;

And as beforn told haue y vn-to yow,

his paramour / his priuee mortel fo,

Was wont for to meete him / right euene so 369

Shee dide thanne / & made him plesant cheere :

They clippe and kisse / and walke homward in feere.

He goes back to
the University,
and again his
paramour meets
and kisses him,

and takes him
home.

(54)

Whan they were entred in the hows / he spradde 372

This clooth vp-on the ground / and ther-on sit,

And bad his paramour, this womman badde,

To sitte also / by him adoun on it.

Shee dooth as þat he commandith and bit. 376

had shee his thoght / and vertu of the clooth

wist / to han sete on it / had shee been looth. 378

He bids her sit
by him on his
Cloth,

(55)

Shee for a whyle was ful sore affesid.¹ 379

¶ This Ionathas wissehe in his herte gan :

"wolde god þat y mighte thus been esid,

That as on this clooth y and this womman

Sitte here / as fer were, as þat neuere man 383

Or this cam" / and vnnethe had he so thoght,

But they with the clooth thidir weren broght 385

and then wishee
that they may
go far away.

At once they

(56)

Right to the worldes ende, as þat it were. 386

¶ Whan apparceyued had shee this / shee cryde

are borne to the
world's end.

¹ Later scribble at top: "Shee for a godes wis fulli sorye
sas" . . . "Th Tho y y y y y." At left side: "Wolld godd
Wolld Wolld . . . stumm."

Jonathas says
he'll leave Fell-
cula there,

As thogh shee thurgh-girt had be *with* a spere :
 " Harrow / alas þat euere shoop this tyde !
 How cam we hidir " / " nay," he seide / " abyde ; 390
 Wers is comynge / heer, soul wole y thee leue ;
 Wylde beestes thes shuln deuoure or eue, 392

(57)

because she's
stolen his Ring
and Brooch.

" ffor thow my ryng and brooch haast fro me holden."
 ¶ " O reuerent Sire, haue vp-on me pitee," 394
 Quod shee / " if yee this grace do me wolden,
 As me brynge hoom ageyn to the Citee
 Where as y this day was / but if þat yee 397
 hem haue ageyn / of foul deeth do me dye ;
 Your bontee on me kythe / y mercy crye." 399

(58)

[leaf 87]

¶ This Ionathas kowde no thyng be waar,¹ 400
 Ne take ensample of the deceites tweyne
 þat shee dide him befor / but feith him² baar,
 And hire he comanded, on dethes peyne,
 ffor swiche offenses / thens-foorth hir restreyne. 404

and swears she'll
give up ill doing.

Shee swoor, and made ther-to foreward ;
 But herkneth how shee baar hire aftirward : 406

(59)

Whan shee sy and kneew þat the wratthe & ire 407
 þat he to hire had born / was goon & past,
 And al was wel : shee thoghþe him eft to fyre ;
 In hir malice ay stood shee stidefast,
 And to enquere of him / was nat agast, 411
 In so short tyme / how þat it mighte be
 That they cam thidir out of hir contree. 413

Then she asks
how they were
carried away.

(60)

Jonathas tells
her of his Magic
Cloth,

¶ " Swich vertu hath this clooth on which we sitte,"
 Seide he / " þat where / in this world vs be list, 415
 Sodeynly *with* the thoght shuln thidir fitte,

¹ Later scribble at side : "This comon (!) . . William . .
 This is geff."

² ? hir

And how thidir come / vn-to vs vnwist,
 As thyng fro fer / vnknowen in the mist." 418
 And ther-with / to this womman fraudulent,
 "To sleepe," he seide / "haue I good talent; 420 and says he wants
 to sleepe

(61)

"Let see," quod he / "strecche out anoon thy lappe,¹ [leaf 87, back]
 In which wole I myn heed down leye and reste." 422 on her lap.
 ¶ So was it doon / and he anoon gan nappe: He does so.
 Nappe! nay / he sleep / right wel atte beste.
 What dooth this womman / oon the fikileste 425
 Of wommen alle / but þat clooth þat lay Fellicula pulls
 Vndir him / shee drow lyte & lyte away. 427 the Cloth from
 under him,

(62)

Whan shee it had al / "wolde god," quod shee, 428 wishes herself
 at home,
 "I were as I was this day morwenyng."
 And ther-with / this roote of iniquitee and is at once
 Had hir wissh / and soul lefte him ther slepyng. carried there.
 ¶ "O Ionathas, lyke to thy perisshyng 432
 Art thou / thy paramour maad hath thy berd;
 Whan thou wakist / cause hast thou to be ferd; 434 (Jonathas, you're
 trickt;

(63)

"But thou shalt do ful wel / thou shalt obtene 435 but you shall
 yet win,
 Victorie on hire / thou haast doon sum deede
 Plesant to thy modir / wel can I weene,
 ffor which our lord god / qwyte shal thy meede, 439
 And thee deliure out of thy woful dreede.
 The chyld / whom þat the modir vsith blesse, because your
 mother has
 ffyl often sythe is esid in distresse." 441 blest you.)

(64)

Whan he awook / and neithir he ne fond 442 [leaf 88]
 Womman ne clooth / he wepte bittirly,
 And seide, "allas / now is ther in no lond
 Man werse, I trowe, begoon / than am y!"
 On euery syde his looke he caste, and sy 446
 He wakes, and
 finds neither
 his paramour
 nor his Cloth.

¹ Later scribble at top: 'Recognise . . Dr.'

Nothing but briddes / in the air fleyng,
And wyld beestes / aboute him rennyng. 448

(65)

Jonathas re-
proaches himself

for having playd
the fool by trust-
ing his secret
to a woman.

Of whos sighte / he ful sore was agrysid : 449
He thoghte / "al this wel disserued y haue.
What eilid me to be so euil aysid,
That my Conseil / kowde I nat keepe & saue ?
Who can fool pleye / who can madde or raue, 453
But he þat to a womman his secree
Deskeuereth / the smert cleueth now on me." 455

(66)

He starts,

and goes through
a hot lake that
burns the flesh
off his feet.

¶ He thens departed / as god wolde harmlees, 456
And foorth of auenture his way is went,
But whidirward he drow / he conceitless
Was / he nat kneew / to what place he was bent.
He paste a watir / which was so feruent 460
þat flessch vp-on his feet / lefte it him noon ;
Al cleene was departid fro the boon. 462

(67)

[leaf 38, back]

He fille a glass
with this water,

and then eats
some fruit which
turns him into
a leper.

¶ It shoop so þat he had a lytil glas, 463
Which, with þat watir / anoon filled he ;
And whan he ferthere in his way goon was,
Before him he beheeld and sy a tree
þat fair fruyt baar / and þat in greet plentee : 467
He eet ther-of / the taast him lykid wel,
But he ther-thurgh becam a foul mesel ; 469

(68)

He curses the day
he was born,

but walks on.

ffor which, vn-to the ground, for sorwe & wo 470
He fil / and seide / " cursid be þat day
þat I was born / and tyme and hour also
þat my modir conceyued me / for ay
Now am I lost / allas and weleaway ! " 474
And whan sumdel slakid his heuynesse,
He roos / and on his way he gan him dressen. 476

(69)

- ¶ An othir watir before him he sy, 477 He then comes
 Which for to comen in he was adrad ; to another lake,
 But natheless / syn ther by / othir way,
 Ne aboute it / ther kowde noon been had :
 He thoghte / "so streytly am I bystad, 481
 þat thogh it sore me affese or gaste,
 Assaye it wole I" / and thurgh it he paste. 483

(70)

- And right as the firste watir his flesshe¹ 484 [leaf 89]
 Departed from his feet : so the secownde and its water
 Restored it / and made al hool and fresshe. restores the flesh
 And glad was he, and ioieful þat stownde of his feet.
 Whan he felte his feet hoole were and sownde. 488
 A viole of the watir of þat brooke
 He filde / & fruyt of the tree with him tooke. 490 He fills a phial
 with it, and takes
 some of the leper-
 fruit.

(71)

- ffoorth his iourneye this Ionathas heeld ; 491
 And as þat he his looke aboute him caste,
 An-othir tree from a-fer he byheeld,
 To which he haastid and him hyed faste :
 Hungry he was / and of the fruyt he thraste 495 Then he eats the
 In-to his mowth / and eet of it sadly, fruit of another
 And of the leepre / he poured was ther-by. 497 tree, and that
 cures his leproey.

(72)

- Of þat fruyt more he raghte / & thens is goon ; 498 He gathers some
 And a fair Castel from a-fer sy he, of it,
 In compas of which / heedes many oon
 Of men ther heeng / as he mighte wel see ;
 But nat for þat / he shone nolde or flee ; 502
 He thidirward him dressith the streight way,
 In al þat euere þat he can or may. 504 and walks to a
 Castle.

¹ Later scribble at side : "This biit made the x (i v) daye of
 maye In the fy[r]st year of the rayne of kyng" . . . "Thomas"
 (6 times).

(73)

[leaf 88, back]	Walkynge so / two men cam him ageyn, ¹	505
Two men tell him that	And seiden thus / "deere freend, we yow preye, What man be yee" ¶ "Sires," <i>quod</i> he certeyn, A leech I am / and thogh myself it seye, Can for the helthe of seeke folke wel purueye."	509
the King of the Castle is a leper,	¶ They seide him / "of yondir Castel, the kyng A leepre is / and can hool be for no thyngt."	511

(74)

	"With him ther hath been many a sundry leech	512
	þat vndertooke / him for to cure and hele	
and kills all the doctors who can't cure him.	On peyne of hire heedes / but al to seeche Hire art was / waar / þat thow nat with him dele, But if thow canst the chartre of helthe ensele,	516
	Lest þat thow thyn heed loese / as diden they. But thow be wys / thow fynde it shalt no pley."	518

(75)

Jonathas says	¶ "Sires," seide he / "yow thanke I of your reed,	519
	ffor gentilly yee han yow to me qwit ; But I nat dreede to leese myn heed ; By goddes help / ful sauf keepe I wole it, God, of his grace, swich konnyng & wit	523
he can cure the King.	hath lent me / þat I hope I shal him cure ; fful wel dar I me putte in auentura."	525

(76)

[leaf 90]	They to the kynges presence han him lad ; ²	526
He gives the King fruit of the 2nd tree,	And him, of the fruyt of the second tree He yaf to ete / & bad him to be glad, And seide anon / "your helthe han shul yee."	
and water of the 2nd lake,	Eeke of the second watir, him, yaf he	530
and cures him of his leprosy.	To drynke / and whan he tho two had receyued, His leepre from him / voided was & weyued.	532

¹ Scribble at top, "Item."² Scribble at top and side: "d d d d d . . and he idil . . .
And wise . . Thomas . . Thomas," &c.

(77)

¶ The kyng / as vn-to his hy dignitee	533	The King pays
Conuenient was / yaf him largely,		Jonathas well.
And to him seide : " if þat it lyke thee,		
Abyden heere / I more habundantly		
Thee yeue wole " ¶ " my lord, sikirly,"	537	
Quod he / " fayn wolde I your pleisir fulfiht,		
And in your hy presence abyde stille ;	539	

(78)

But I no whyle may with yow abyde,	540	
So mochil haue I to doone elles where."		
¶ Ionathas euery day to the See syde		Jonathas walks
Which was ny / wente / to looke & enquere		seaward,
If any ship drawynge thidir were,	544	
Which him hoom to his Contree lede mighte.		
And on a day, of shippes had he sighte,	546	

(79)

Wel / a xxx th . toward the Castel drawe ; ¹	547	[leaf 90, back]
And atte tyme of euen-song they aht		
Arryueden / of which he was ful fawe ;		
And to the Shipmen crie he gan & caht,		
And seide / " if it so happe mighte & fah	551	and asks the
þat some of yow, me hoom to my Contree		Captains of 30
Me brynge wolde / wel qwit sholde he be ;"	553	ships, who can
		take him home.

(80)

And tolde hem whidir / þat they sholden go.	554	
¶ Oon of the shipmen forth stirte atte laste,		One agrees to
And to him seide / " my ship, and no mo		do so.
Of hem þat heere been / hem shape & caste		
Thidir to weende / Let see / tell on faste,"	558	
Quod the Shipman / " þat thou for my trauaith		
Me yeue wilt / if þat I thidir sailh."	560	

¹ Scribble in margin : " Thomas . . Thomas . . Thomas . . Thoma."

(81)

	They were accorded / Ionathas foorth gooth	561
	Vn-to the kyng / to axe of him licence	
	To twynne thens / to which the kyng was looth ;	
The King agrees.	And nathelees, with his beneuolence,	
	This Ionathas from his magnificence	565
Jonathas	Departed is / and foorth to the Shipman	
	his way he takith / as swythe as he can.	567

(82)

[leaf 91]	In-to the ship he entrith / & as blyue	568
sets sail,	As wynd and wedir, good shoop for to be,	
	Thidir as he purposid him arryue,	
and lands at the city where the serpentine Felli- cula is.	They saillid foorth / & cam to the Citee	
	In which this serpentyn womman was / shee	572
	That had him terned with false deceitis ;	
	But where no remedie folwith / streit is ;	574

(83)

	Tornes been qwit / al be they goode or badde,	575
	Sumtyme / thogh they put been in delay.	
She thinks he's been eaten by wild beastes ;	¶ But to my purpos / shee deemed he hadde	
	Been deuoured with beestes many a day	
	Goon / shee thoghte / he deliured was for ay.	579
and he's so changed that no one knows him.	ffolke of the Citee / kneew nat Ionathas,	
	So many a yeer was past / þat he ther was ;	581

(84)

	Mislykyng & thoght / changed eek his face.	582
	Abouten he gooth / and for his dwellynge	
	In the Citee / he hyred him a place,	
He sets up as a physician,	And ther-in excercysid his konnyng	
	Of phisyke / to whom weren repeiryng	586
and cures many sick folk.	Many a seeke wight / and all were helid ;	
	wel was the seek man / þat with him hath delid ! ¹	588

¹ Later scribble in the margin: "In the . . h . . I . . h . . k . .," (each repeated). "This bill made the . . k k . . viz . . This bill made . . This byll made the v day of maye. This biþ . . Romane."

(85)

Now shoop it thus / þat this Fellicula—	589	[leaf 91, back]
The welle of deceyuable doublesnesse,		Fellicula
ffolwere of the steppes of dalida—		
Was thanne exaltat vn-to hy richesse,		
But shee was fallen in-to greet seeknesse,	593	had fallen ill,
And herde seyn / for nat mighte it been hid,		
How maistreful a leche he had him kid :	595	

(86)

Messages solempne to him she sente,	596	and sends for
Preyinge him to do so mochil labour		Jonathas.
As come and seen hire / and he thidir wente.		
Whan he hir sy / þat shee his paramour		
had been, he wel kneew / and for þat, dettour	600	
To hire he was / hire he thoghte to qwyte		
Or he wente / & no lengere it respyte ;	602	

(87)

But what þat he was / shee ne wiste nat.	603	
He sy hire vryne / & eeke felte hir pous,		He looks at her
And seide / " the soothe is this, pleyn & plat :		urine, feels her
A seeknesse han yee strange & merueillous,		pulse,
Which for to voide / is wondir dangerous ;	607	
To hele yow / ther is no way but oon ;		and says there's
Leche in this world / othir can fynde noon :	609	only one way to
		cure her.

(88)

" Auysith yow / whethir yow list it take ¹	610	[leaf 92]
Or nat / for y told haue yow my wit."		
¶ " A, Sire," seide shee / " for goddes sake,		
þat way me shewe / and y shal folwen it,		She declares she'll
What-euere it be / for this seeknesse sit	614	follow it, what-
So ny myn herte / þat y woot nat how		ever it is.
Me to demene / telle on, preye y yow."	616	

¹ Later, at top : "Ceste lettire fait le trouesme Ioure de aoulte entre Iames et moye Poir du vingo 33^u 39^e et demi et quoy et fouct farre, &c (?)." At side : "This biit made the xx^u day of may In the fy[r]st yere of the rayne of."

(89)

Jonathas says she must confess if she's stolen any thing,	"Lady, yee muste openly yow confesse ; And if ageyn good conscience & right, Any good han yee take, more or lesse, Beforn this hour of any maner wight,	617
and must restore it ;	yilde it anoon / elles nat in the might Of man is it / to yeue a medecyne þat yow may hele of your seeknesse & pyne.	621 623

(90)

	"If any swich thyng be / telle out, y rede ; And yee shul been al hool, y yow byheete ; Elles myn art is naȝht, withouten dreede." "O lord," shee thoghȝte / helthe is a thyng ful sweete ; Therwith desire y souerainly to meete. Syn y it by confessioun may rekeuere, A fool am I, but I my gilt deskeuere."	624 628 630
--	---	-------------------

(91)

[leaf 92, back] She confesses how she robd Jonathas.	How falsly to the sone of themperour Ionathas / had shee doon / before hem all, As yee han herd aboue / al þat errour Bykneew shee / o Fellicula, thee caȝt Wel may y so / for of the bittir gaȝt Thow takist the begynnynge of thy name, Thow roote of malice / and mirour of shame !	631 635 637
---	--	-------------------

(92)

	¶ Than seide Ionathas / "where arn tho three Iewelles / þat yee fro the Clerk withdrow?"	638
His Jewels are in a coffer at the foot of her bed.	¶ "Sire, in a Cofre / at my beddes feet yee Shul fynde hem / opne it / and see, preye y yow." He thoghȝte nat to make it qweynte and tow, And seye nay / and streyne courtesie, But with right good wil / thidir he gan hye.	642 644

(93)

- The Cofre he opned / and hem there fond.¹ 645 Jonathas finds
 Who was a glad man but Ionathas, who ? his Jewels there,
 The ryng vp-on a fyngir of his hond
 he putte / and the brooch on his brest also ; puts the Ring
 The clooth eeke vndir his arm heeld he tho, 649 on his finger,
 And to hire him dressith / to doon his cure, the Brooch on his
 Cure mortel / way to hir sepulture. 651 client,
 and the Cloth
 under his arm.

(94)

- he thoghite, reewe shee sholde, and forthynke² 652 [leaf 93]
 þat shee hire hadde vn-to him mis bore ;
 And of þat watir hire he yaf to drynke, In revenge, he
 Which þat his flessch / from his bones before gives Feticula
 had twynned / wherthurgh he was almoost lore, 656 the hot water
 Nad he releued been / as yee aboue
 Han herd / and this he dide eeke for hir loue. 658

(95)

- Of the fruyt of the tree he yaf hire ete, 659 and the leper-
 Which þat him made in-to the leepre sterte ; fruit.
 And as blyue in hir wombe gan they frete
 And gnawe so / þat change gan hire herte.
 Now herkneth / how it hire made smerte : 663
 Hir wombe opned / and out fil eche entraille They burst her
 That in hire was / thus seith the booke sanz faiþ. 665 belly open, and
 her bowels fall
 out.

(96)

- Thus wrecchidly, lo / this gyle [wo]man³ dyde ; 666
 And Ionathas, with the Iewelless three,
 No lengere there thoghite to abyde, Jonathas, with
 his 3 Jewels,

¹ "leyenge" added by a later hand. In the margin are also,
 "Louyng brother, I dan (!) . . my haryly cuddyr (!) . . p . . all
 . . ifand . . stoopes . . . This ys Jamys."

² Later, at top: "This bill made the xvij daye of maye In
 the fy[r]st year of the Rayne of kyng Edward the syxt, by the
 grace of god, of Inglond, france, and yrelond, kyng."

³ 'guile-y woman died' it must be ; not 'this guile, man did.'

goes back to his
Mother,
and lives in joy
till he dies.

But hoom to themperice, his modir, hastith he,
Where as in ioie and in prosperitee 670
his lyf ledde he / to his dyynge day :
And so god vs graunte þat we do may ! 672

Amen.

[Moralization.]

[leaf 93, back]
The Emperour
is God.
The first Son
is the Angels.

The 2nd Son
is the Patriarchs
and Prophetes.

The 3rd Son
is Man.

The Ring is
Faith.

¶ Si habueritis
fidem sicut gra-
num synapis &c

[leaf 94]

The Brooch is
the Holy Ghost.
¶ Mittam vobis
paracletum &c

Themperour þat y spake of aboue, is oure lord god,
þat hath .iiij. sones. ¶ By the firste sone, we
shul vndirstonde Angels / to whiche / god yaf swich
confirmation þat they may nat synne / for aftir þat the
wikkid Angels fillen: the goode angels so sadly weren
adherent to god, and by him so conformed / þat they
mighten nat synne. ¶ By the second sone, we shul
vndirstonde Patriarks and Prophetes / to whiche god
yaf and bytook the olde lawe / þat is to seye, the lawe
of Moyses / which was menable / for it changid by the
comynge of Cryst / ¶ To the .iiij. sone, this Emperour
yaf the Iewelles / þat is to seyn, the ryng / the brooch
& the clooth / ¶ By the ryng þat is rownd / We shul
vndirstande feith / which is rownd, withouten obliquitee
or crookidnesse / and who-so hath the ryng of verray
feith / he shal haue the loue of god and of his angels.
¶ Where-of our Sauueour spekith and seith thus: ¶ " If
yee haue as mochil feith as is the greyn of Senefee ;
yee shuln mowe seye to this hil, passe & go / and it
shal passe " / & therfore he þat hath the ryng of verray
feith: he shal haue al ¹thyng at his lust and plesance.
¶ God yaf also to the Cristen man a brooch / þat is to
seyn, the holy goost / and seyde / " I shal sende to yow
the holy goost, & he shal telle and informe yow of al
þat y seye " / and if we haue the holy goost in oure
hertes / withouten doute we shul han all goodes þat
profyten to the helthe of soule / ¶ Also god yaf to the

Cristen man the .iiij^{de} Iewel / þat is to seyn, the precious clooth / this clooth is parfyte charitee / which god shewid vs in the Crois / he loued vs so mochil þat he deide for vs / to brynge vs to eternal blisse / therfore who-so sitteth vp-on parfyte charitee: doweteles he shal be translated out of this world / vn-to perpetual rest.

The Cloth is perfect Charity.

¶ The seid Ionathas may be clept a Cristen man / which is sliden or fallen in-to synne. ¶ His paramour, þat is to seyn, his wrecchid flessch, cometh to him and meetith him / stiryng him to synne / and so he leesith the ryng of feith / which he receyued & tooke in his baptema. ¶ Also the brooch, þat is to seyn, the holy goost, fleeth from hym by cause of his synne. ¶ The

The Paramour is man's wretched flesh.

clooth eek is with¹drawen from him, þat is to seye, parfyte charitee / as² often as he consentith to synne / and thus the wrecchid man dwellith or abydyth withouten help among beestes / þat is to seyn / with the feend / the world and the flessch. ¶ Do therfore as

[1 leaf 94, back]

dide Ionathas. ¶ Ryse vp fro thy synne, ryse vp / for al to longe haast thou slept in the lappe of carnalitee or flesschlyhede / as it is writen: ¶ "Aryse vp thou þat sleepest, and y shal enlumyne thee." ¶ Right so Sampson slepte in the lappe of Dalida, and loste his strengthe.

¶ Surge qui dormis, & illuminabo te &c

¶ Ionathas roos and entred in-to the watir of penance / which twynneth and disseuerith the flessch, þat is to seyn, flesschly affecciōs / ¶ Afterward he eet of the fruyt of sharpnesse / which changed his cheere in-to the manere of a lepre / as it is red of Cryst: ¶ "we sy him as hauynge no chiere or contenance."

The hot Water is Penance.

¶ Right so of the soule, which is in bittirnesse for the wrought offense and synne. ¶ wher-of it is seid in the figure and liknesse of the soule: ¶ "Blake y am, but y

The 1st tree's fruit is Sharpness.

¶ Vidimus eum tamquam vultum non habentem &c

² Later, at top: "Radufus Wilcokes." "Ihesus,

"Ihesus, haue mercy vpon vs and this Inglishe nacyon, which hath bene of christis flock an habitacioñ."

At foot: "Thomas, late Pokes Walere (!)" and some French, upside down.

¶ *Nigra sum, set
forinosa &c*

The 2nd Water
is the Holy
Communion.

[¹ leaf 95]

¶ *Ego sum fons;
qui biberit &c*

The fruit of
the 2nd tree is
Reason.

The Ship is the
Church.

The Home is
the Kingdom of
Heaven.

Little poem,
beg Lady West-
morland

to receive you
as her right,
and try to please
her.

am fair" / þat is to seyn, blake in body, and fair in soule. ¶ Ionathas entred the second watir, which restored al, &c. ¶ This watir is the holy communioun aftir penitence, ¶ Wher-of spake oure ¹Sauueour:² ¶ "I am the well / who-so drynkith of þat watir, he shal nat thriste ageyn." ¶ Aftir, this Ionathas eet of the fruyt of the second tree, which restored al þat was lost, þat is to seyn, whan man is glorified in eternal lyf, and helith the kyng, þat is to seyn, resoun. and so he entrieth the ship of the chirche / and to his paramour, þat is to seyn, his flessch, he purueieth watir of contricioun & fruyt of penance and sharpnesse / for which the flessch / þat is to seyn, carnel or fleshly affeccion, sterueth and dieth / and the man purchaceth & getith by penitence the goodes þat were lost / and so he gooth in to his Contree, þat is to seyn, the Regne of heuene: to which, god of his grace brynge vs all. Amen!

G o, smal book' / to the noble excellence
Of my lady / of Westmerland / and seye,
Hir humble seruant / with al reuerence
Him recommandith vn-to hir nobleye;
And byseeche hire / on my behalue, & preye,
Thee to receyue / for hire owne right;
And looke thow / in al manere weye
To plesse hir wommanhede / do thy might.

Humble seruant }
to your gracious }
noblesse }

T: Hoccleue.

At foot, later, "Perlegi 1666."

² Later, at top: "Vnto the glorious Resurreccyon of the Body and the lyfe Euer lastyng." At side "radulfus Wilcok . . honerif isnilitatibus . . But, the sayd def (t)."

Summe. I am the Bell. Tho so demerit. If
if p. Catty. he shal not thaste again. If
this Jonathas set of the fount of the second tree
Which restored al p. Que left p is to seyn Chan
man is glorified in eternel life and helth the lyng
p is to seyn pson, and so he enureth the ship of
the church, and to his pame p is to seyn his fleshy
he pponereth Catty of contricion & fount of
pardon and sharpnesse for Church the fleshy
p is to seyn carnel or fleshy afteron pson
and deeth, and the man purchareth & getteth by
penitence the goodes p. Catty lost, and so he goeth
in to his Courtye p is to seyn the Regne of heven
to Churchof his grace bying be all tyme

I humbly beseech you to the noble excellence
of my lady of Westmestrand and seyn
the humble pson with al reverence and p. Catty
I am recomandeth in to my noble
and byseech you on my behalfe of grace
to receyve for my ordne p. Catty
and looke the Ome al more deyle
I please my p. Catty de my miche

I humbly beseech
to your grace
noblesse

HOCCLEVE'S RHYMES AND CHAUCER'S VIRELAYS.

[Reprinted from *The Athenæum*, March 4, 1893, p. 281.]

CHAUCER tells us that he wrote "virelayes"; see 'Legend of Good Women,' 423. Unfortunately, they are all lost but two; and these two do not seem to have been noticed.

There is a so-called 'Virelay' in Moxon's edition, p. 439; but it was first attributed to Chaucer by Stowe in 1561, and is of quite late date; see my edition of the 'Minor Poems,' p. xxxi. I shall only observe here that it is not a true virelay; for the rhymes do not recur as they should.

The sole existing specimens both occur in 'Anelida,' lines 256-271 and 317-332. The arrangement of rhymes is as follows: *aaabaaab*, followed by *bbbabbbba*. The repetition of the same rhymes in a different order is the essential point in a virelay.

In Dr. Furnivall's excellent new edition of Hoccleve I find some more examples, though they are not noted as being such. I wish to draw attention to them, as they are of high interest.

Take, for example, Balade IV., at p. 39. The editor says, "in five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc*." This is true as far as it goes, but does not convey any adequate idea of the extreme intricacy of the metre. The description given only applies to the first stanza. But *all the other stanzas* actually employ the very same rhymes, but in a veering order. In the whole poem of forty lines there are but three rhymes, viz. in *-al*, in *-ee*, and in *-ay*. And this is the order of them.

First stanza: *abab, bcbc*.

Second stanza: *cbcb, baba*.

Third stanza: *abab, bcbc*. (Same as the first.)

Fourth stanza: *cbcb, baba*. (Same as the second.)

Fifth stanza: *acac, cbcb*.

There are here three variations in the order.

Balade V. (p. 41) is another specimen of intricate rhyming.

The formula is as follows for the four stanzas: (1) *abab, bcbc*, (2) the same, (3) the same, (4) the same. In the thirty-two lines there are but three rhymes.

Balade VI. (p. 42) is precisely like it. However, neither of these is a virelay; there is no veer.

Balade VIII. (p. 47) furnishes us with a still more intricate specimen. The first five stanzas arrange the rhymes as in Balade IV. above. But there is a new arrangement in stanza 6, viz. *bcbc, caca*. Hence there are here four variations instead of three. In forty-eight lines there are but three rhymes, viz. in *-ee, -oun*, and *-eye*. A knowledge of this is important phonetically; for a rhyme in *-ey* (instead of the feminine *-eye*) would be inadmissible.

Balade IX. is interesting as reproducing the metre in 'Anelida,' 220-255, 281-316; so we know whence the form of it came.

Balade XII. is an excellent specimen of a virelay. In the three stanzas we get the three varieties, as in Balade IV., stanzas 1, 2, and 5. The three rhymes are *-ent, -esse, -ee*.

Balade XIII. begins with an excellent virelay. The first three stanzas are, in form, precisely like Balade XII.; but all the rhymes are feminine. The rhyme-endings are *-esse, -inge, -aille*. Stanza 4 is, metrically, rather a drop, as it introduces new rhymes. But the roundel that succeeds is good.

Balade XIV. is a virelay. The first and third stanzas end alike, viz. in *abab, bcbc*. The second stanza has *cbcb, baba*.

Balade XV. is a virelay, precisely like Balade XII.

Hence Hoccleve actually presents us with true virelays in Balades XII., XV., and three stanzas of XIII., with three variations. Balade IV. is another, but the third and fourth stanzas are additional, and merely repeat the rhymes of the first and second. Balade VIII. introduces yet a fourth variation. Balade XIV. has but two variations.

We can all guess whence Hoccleve learnt his metres. It seems to me a most interesting fact that, though we have not got many of Chaucer's eight-line virelays, we now know precisely how they all went.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

"MAGGE; THE GOOD[E] KOW."—p. 217.

[Reprinted from *The Academy*, April 1, 1893, pp. 285-6.]

"THE COW IS WOOD" IN CHAUCER.

Cambridge: March 19, 1893.

IN the New English Dictionary, s.v. *chough*, we learn that *cow* here means "chough"; viz., in the "Wife of Bath's Prologue," l. 232. I once further explained (in the *ACADEMY*, April 5, 1890) that the allusion is to a story of "The Tell-tale Bird" kind, so well discussed by Mr. Clouston in *Originals and Analogues*, p. 437 (Chaucer Society).

IN Dr. Furnivall's new edition of *Hoccleve* there is a capital example of a similar usage; and (with Dr. Furnivall's kind permission) I beg leave to call attention to it, because it seems to have escaped notice. I must quote the whole of two stanzas on p. 217:

"Frend, looth me were 'nay' seye vnto yow,
But y suppose, it may noon othir be;
Lest wommen vnto Magge, the good[e] kow,
Me likne, and thus seye—'O, beholde and see
The double man! O, yondir, lo, gooth he
That hony first yaf, and now yeueth galle;
He fo in herte is vnto wommen alle;

"Til he of wommen oute wordes wikke,
He fastynge is, him seemeth; al the day
Out of his mowth lesynges swarmen thikke;
On wommen no good word affoorthe he may;
And if he wel speke or wryte, is no nay,
He nat meneth as he spekith or writ:
O lewde dotepol! straw for his wit!"

IN the last line but one the printed text has *meueth*, i.e., "moveth." I read it as *meneth*, i.e., "meaneth." The verb *oute* means "utter." I would further suggest that the MS. reading,

the good cow, is a scribal error for *the woode cow*, i.e., "the mad jack-daw." The scribe evidently missed the point, and avoided writing what (to him) seemed to be nonsense.

I now give a sufficient paraphrase :

"My friend, it would grieve me to refuse you, but I suppose I cannot do otherwise (than translate, as you ask me to do, a tale about an evil woman). I fear lest women should liken me to Mag, the mad jack-daw, and say—'Behold the double-minded man! See yonder, there goes he who formerly gave men honey, and now gives them gall; he is a foe, at heart, to all womankind. He seems to himself to be fasting, till he utters wicked words about women. Lies swarm thickly out of his mouth. He cannot afford women one good word; and if ever he speaks or writes well of us, it cannot be denied that he does not mean what he speaks or writes. Ignorant blockhead! A straw for his wit!'"

Not only have we here a new allusion to the evil words which jack-daws speak of women, but we have what I suppose to be by far the earliest example of the name *Mag* (Margaret) as applied to a chattering bird. Shakspeare has "magot-pie," and modern English has "magpie." It would be interesting to learn if some other MS. can be found in which the original word *woode* (or *wode*) is retained.

WALTER W. SKRAT.

I don't know of another copy of this Link between Hoccleve's two stories from the *Gesta Romanorum*.—F. J. F.

NOTES.

I.

Extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* (Mai 1399).—Œuvres Poétiques de C. de P. publiées par Maurice Roy. ii. 1—27. Soc. des Anciens Textes Français, 1891.

[The nos. of the English lines are on the left ; those of the French on the right.]

1	Cupido, roy par la grace de lui,	1
	Dieu des amans, sans aide de nullui	
2	Regnant en l'air du ciel très reluissant	
5	Filz de Venus la deesse poissant,	4
	Sire d'amours et de tous ses obgiez,	
6	A tous nos vrais loiaux servans subgiez,	
7	Salut, Amour, Familiarité !	
8	Savoir faisons en generalité	8
11	Qu'a nostre Court sont venues complaintes	
	Par devant nous, et moult piteuses plaintes	
9	De par toutes dames et damoiselles,	
10	Gentilz femmes, bourgoises et pucelles,	12
	Et de toutes femmes generaument,	
	Nostre secours requérant humblement . . .	14
11	Si se plaignent les dessusdittes dames,	17
12	Des grans extors, . . des oultrages très griefs,	20
	Que chascun jour des desloiaux reçoivent,	
	Qui les blasment, diffament et deçoivent.	
15-16	Sur tous pais se complaignent de France . . .	23
18	Car a present sont pluseurs chevaliers	33
	Et escuiers mains duis et coustumiers	
21	D'elles trayr par beaulx blandissemens.	
18	Si se faignent estre loyaux amans	36
21	Et se cueuvrent de diverse fuintise ;	
22-5	Si vont disant que griefment les atise	
	L'amour d'elles, qui leur cuer tient en serre,	
	Dont l'un se plaint, a l'autre le cuer serre,	40
19, 22	L'autre pleure par semblant et souspire,	
25	Et l'autre faint que trop griefment empire	
23	Par trop amer tout soit descoulouré,	
28	Et presque mort et tout alangoré,	44
29	Et jurent fort, et promettent et mentent	
33	Estre loiaux, secrez, et puis s'en vantent . . .	46
41	Ainsi, se trop ne sont aperceües,	99
42	Sont maintes fois les dames deceües.	
41	Car simples sont, n'y pensent se bien non,	

Dont il avient souvent, veullent ou non,	102
42 Qu'amer leur fault ceulz qui si les deçoivent,	
49 Traies sont ains qu'elles l'aperçoivent.	104
50-1 Mais quant ainsi sont fort envelopées,—	105
57 Les desloiaulz qui les ont attrapées,	
Or escoutez comment ilz s'en cheviassent :	
59 Ne leur souffist ce qu'ainsi les trahissent,	108
57 Ains ont compaigns de leur male alliance ;	
62 Si n'y remaint ne fait ne couvenance	
63 Qui ne soit dit l'un a l'autre, et, trop plus	
Qu'ilz n'ont de bien, se vantent que reclus	112
68 Sont devenus en la chambre leurs dames	
Dont sont amez ; puis jurent corps et ames	
Comment du fait il leur est avvenu,	
68 Et que couché braz a braz y ont nu . . .	116
78 Mais s'aucunes attraient en tel guise,	537
80 Quel merveille ? Ne fu pas, par faintise,	
82 Par faultz consaulz, par traison bastie,	
Par parlemens, engins et foy mentie,	540
81 La grant cité de Troye jadis prise,	
83 Qui tant fu fort, et toute en feu esprise ?	542
Et tous les jours par engins et desrois	
85 Ne traist on et royaumes et roys ? . . .	544
Et fust ores malicieuse et sage	551
Si n'est ce pas en ce grant vasselage	
89 A homme agu, de grant malice plein,	
90 Qui peine y met comme il en est tout plein.	554
99 La rigolent l'un l'autre, et par reproches	126
S'entredient : " Je sçay bien de tes fais,	
100 " Telle est t'amie, et tu le jolis fais	
102-8 " Pour sienne amour ; mais plusieurs y ont part ;	
104-5 " Tu es receu quant un autre s'en part."	130
Et puis après s'en moquent et s'en vantent,	531
110 Et vont disant que femmes se consentent	
127 Legierement, com legieres et frailles,	
111 Et qu'on ne doit avoir fiance en elles . . .	534
113 La diffament les envieux la belle	131
115 Sanz achoison, ne nul mal savoir d'elle ;	
Et lors celui qui en est rigolé	
Monstre semblant qu'il en soit adoulés . . .	134
120 Si en y a qui se sont mis en peine	147
121 Qu'on les amast, mais perdu ont leur peine ;	
122-3 Si sont honteux dont ilz sont reffusé ;	
124 Ne veulent pas qu'on croie que musé	150
Ayent en vain, pour ce de ce se vantent	
126 Qu'onques n'avint . . .	
134 Et quel profit vient d'ainsi diffamer	165
135 A ceulz meismes qui se deussent armer	
136 Pour les garder, et leur honneur deffendre ?	
138 Car tout homme doit avoir le cuer tendre	

174	Envers femme qui a tout homme est mere . . .	169
148	Et supposé qu'il en y ait de nyces . . .	185
150	Ou remplies de plusieurs divers vices,	
151	Sanz foy, n'amour, ne nulle loiaulté,	
153	Fieres, males, plaines de cruaulté,	
149	Ou pou constans, legieres, variables,	
152	Cautelleuses, fausses et decevables,	190
154	Doit on pour tant toutes mettre en fremaille, Et tesmoignier qu'il n'est nulle qui vaille ?	
155	Quant le hault Dieu fist et forma les angelz . . .	193
156-7	N'en y ot il de mauvais en leurs fais ?	195
160	Doit on pour tant angelz nommer mauvais ? . . .	196
169	Par ces preuves justes et veritables	721
	Je conclus que tous hommes raisonnables	
170	Doivent femmes prisier, cherir, amer,	
175	Et ne doivent avoir cuer de blasmer	
174	Elles de qui tout homme est descendu . . .	725
190	Si se plaingent les dessusadittes dames	259
191	De plusieurs clers qui sus leur mettent blasmes, Dittiez en font, rimes, proses et vers,	
192	En diffamant leurs meurs par moz divers . . .	262
197	En vers dient, Adam, David, Sanson,	267
199	Et Salemon et autres a foison,	
198	Furent deceuz par femme main et tart ;	
202	Et qui sera donc li homs qui s'en gart ? . . .	270
204	Ovide en dit, en un livre qu'il fist,	281
206	Assez de maulz, dout je tiens qu'il meffist,	
204-5	Qu'il appella le " Remede d'amours,"	
205	On leur met sus moult de villaines inours, Ordes, laides, pleines de villenie . . .	285
	Si ont les clers appris très leur enfance	291
211	Cellui livret en premiere science De grainaire, et aux autres l'aprenent	
213	A celle fin qu'a femme ainer n'emprenent.	
219	Mais de ce sont folz, et perdent leur peine,	295
220	Ne l'empeschier, si n'est fors chose vaine.	
221	Car, entre moy et ma dame Nature,	
222	Ne souffrerons, tant com le monde dure,	298
224	Que cheries et amées ne soient,	
232	Malgré touz ceulz qui blasmer les voudroient, Et qu'a plusieurs meismes qui plus les blasment	
234	N'ostent les cuers, et ravissent et emblent . . .	302
225	Et aucuns sont qui iadis en mes las	495
227	Furent tenus, mais il sont d'amer las,	
226	Ou par vieillece ou deffaulte de cuer,	
227	Si ne veulent plus amier a nul fuier, Et convenant m'ont de tous poins nyé,	
230	Moy et mon fait guerpy et renié	500
231	Comme mauvais serviteurs et rebelles,	
228	Et telle gent racontent telz nouvelles Communement, et se plaignent, et blasment	
232	Moy et mon fait, et les femmes diffament . . .	504
	Si lié tel gent trop plus qu'autre riens, certes	509

234	Et les paye souvent de leurs dessertes ; Car, en despit de leurs males paroles,	
236	Eulx assorter d'aucunes femmes foles,	512
237,262	De pou d'onneur, males, maurenominées,	
239	Je fuis yceulz ; de tel gent sont amées . . .	514
	La sont surpris et bien envelopé	517
	Ceulz qui les inieulx cuident estre eschappé.	
263	Comme il affiert sunt tel gent avoyé ;	
245	Si leur est bien tel meschief employé . . .	520
246	D'autres pluseurs, et meisnemen Ovide	321
	Qui tant en vould, puis diffamer les cnide ;	
247	Et tous les clers, qui tant en ont parlé,	
252	Plus qu'autre gens en furent affolé,	
259	Non pas d'une seule mais d'un millier. . .	325
274	Li autres dit que moult sont decevables,	271
275	Cautilleuses, faulses et pou valables.	
	Autres dient que trop sont mencongieres,	
279	Variables, inconstans et legieres . . .	274
	Et meisnemen pouête si soubtil	387
	Comme Ovide, qui puis fu en exil,	
281-3	Et Jehan de Meun ou Romant de la Rose,	
286	Quel long procès ! quel difficile chose ! . . .	390
287	Pour decepvoir sanz plus une pucelle . . .	395
291	A foible lieu faut il donc grant assault ?	397
	Comment peut on de près faire grand saut ?	
	Je ne sçay pas ce veoir ne comprendre	
296-7	Que grant peine faille a foible lieu prendre,	400
289	Ne art, n'engin, ne grant soubtiveté.	
295	Dont convient il tout de necessité,	
296	Puis qu'art convient, grant engin et grant peine,	
297	A decevoir femme noble ou villaine,	404
298	Qu'elz ne soient mie si variables,	
299	Comme aucun dit, n'en leur fait si nuables ¹ . .	406
302	Que fut jadis Medée au faulz Jason ?	437
303	Trés loialle, et lui fist la toi-on	
304	D'or conquerir par son eng'n soubtil,	
	Dont il acquist loz plus qu'autres cent mil . . .	440
308	Par elle fu renommé dessus tous,	441
	Si lui promist que loial ami doulz	
307	Seroit tout sien, mais sa foy lui menti,	
	Et la lascia pour autre, et s'en parti	444
311	Que fu Dido, roïne de Cartage,	
	De grant amour et de loial corage,	
309	Vers Eneas qui, exillé de Troye,	
	Aloit par mer las, despris et sanz joye,	448
312	Presque pery, lui et ses chevaliers ?	
	Recueilli fu, dont lui estoit mestiers	
310	De la belle, qu'il fausement deçut	451
315	Dont a la fin celle, pour s'amistié	459

¹ Hoccleve wisely leaves out Christine's retort that the books against them weren't written by women (609-10) ; had they been (416), things wd have been differently put.

Morut de dueil, dont ce fu grant pitié.	460
Si trouvera, se vient a droit jugier,	643
330 Que le plus grant mal puet pou doinnagier :	
331 N'occient gent, ne blescent, ne mahagnent,	
Ne traïsons ne pourchacent n'empregnent,	
334 Feu ne boutent, ne desheritent gent,	
335 N'empoisonnent, n'embent or ne argent,	648
Ne deçoivent d'avoir ne d'eritage,	
336 N'en faulz contras, et ne portent domage	
333 Aux royaumes, aux duchies, n'aux empires ;	
Mal ne s'ensuit gaires, meismes des pères . . .	652
. . . elles n'ont pas les cuers	670
Enclins ad ce, ne a cruauté faire ;	
337-40 Car nature de femme est debonnaire, [See also 166-178.]	
346 Moult piteuse, paourouse et doubtable,	
345 Humble, doulce, coye, et moult charitable,	674
347 Amiable, devote, en payz honteuse,	
346 Et guerre craint, simple et religieuse,	
341 Et en courroux tost apaise son yre . . .	677
361 . . . mais du decevement	608
351-7 Dont on blasma dame Eve nostre mere,	
354 Dont s'ensuivi de Dieu sentence amere,	610
365-6 Je di pour vray qu'oncq Adam ne deçut,	
364 Et simplement de l'anemi conçut	
363 La parole qu'il lui donna a croire,	
Si li cuida estre loial et voïre,	614
En celle foy de lui dire s'avance ;	
367 Si ne fut donc fraude ne decepvance	
Car simplece, sanz malice celée,	
367 Ne doit estre decepvance appellée.	618
372 Nul ne deçoit sanz cuidier decepvoir,	
371 Ou aultrement decepvance n'est voir.	620
374-5 Quelz grans mauz donc en pevent estre diz ?	
Par desservir n'ont elles paradis ?	
375 De quelz crimes les peut on accuser ? . . .	623
Mais, qui qu'en ait mesdit ou mal escript	559
435 Je ne truis pas en livre n'en escript	
437 Qui de Jhesus parle, ou de sa vie,	
436 Ou de sa mort pourchacée d'envie . . .	562
444 N'euvangile qui nul mal en tesmoigne,	565
Mais maint grant bien, mainte haulte besoigne,	
447 Grant prudence, grant sens, et grant constance,	
Parfaite amour, en foy grant arrestance,	
Grant charité . . . et grant semblant en firent, 569, 71	
438 Car, mort ne vif, oncque ne le guerprent.	
442 Fors des femmes fu de tous deluissié	
Le doulz Jhesus, navré, mort et blecié.	
443 Toute la foy remaint en une femme . . .	575
450 Et se j'ay dit d'elles bien et louenge,	759
451 Comme il est vray, ne l'ay fait par losange	
452 N'a celle fin que plus orgueil en aient,	
453 Mais tout a fin que toudis elles sovent	
454 Curieuses de mieulz en mieulz valoir,	

	Sanz les vices que l'en ne doit avoir ;	764
456	Car qui plus a grant vertu et bonté, En doit estre moins d' orgueil surmonté,	
457-8	Car les vertus si enchacent les vices. Et, s'il est des femmes aucunes nycles, Cest' Epistre leur puist estre dottrine, Le mal laissent ; les bonnes vueillent en ce	768
454	Prendre vouloir d' auoir perseverence,	772
455,62	Si aront preu, grant honneur, joye et los Et Paradis a la fin, dire l'os.	774
463	Pour ce conclus en diffinicion,	
466-7	Que des mauvais soit fait punicion Qui les blasment . . . si soient tuit	776, 779
468	De nostre Court chacié, bani, destruit . . .	780
464	Et COMMANDONS de fait a no maisnie	784
465	Generaument et a noz officiers . . .	785
466	. . . que tous ceuz maubaillis Et villenez soient très laidement	788
467	Injuriez, punis honteusement . . .	790
470	Accompli soit sanz faire aucun delais.	795
472-3	DONNÉ en l'air, en nostre grant palais, Le jour de May la solempnée feste	
474	Ou les amans nous font mainte requeste,	
475	L' An de grace Mil trois cens quate vins Et dix et neuf, present dieux et divins . . .	800
	CREINTIS [= Cristine].	
	Explicit l' Epistre au dieu d' amours.	828

II.

LETTER OF CUPID, p. 72—91.

COLLATION OF THE ASHBURNHAM MS 53, & SHIRLEY'S
MS TRIN. COLL. CAMB. R. 3. 20, p. 116 &c.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>72/1. comaundementes Sh.
— 4. the mortel A, al mortel Sh.
— 5. the <i>om.</i> A, Sh., citheres sone
 oonly Sh.
— 6. alle A Sh.
— 7. gretying hertly Sh., gretynges
 senden A.
73/8. wole A, wol Sh.
— 9. and A, of Sh.
— 10. esowe Sh.
— 11. Swich A, . . . of F, as Sh.
— 12. doon A, which doone Sh.
— 14. this F, hir A, þe Sh.
— 15. And passyng^t A, . . . on^t F,
 vpon Sh., . . . the litel F,
 this A.
— 18. can . . . dissimulen A.
— 19. on F, in A, Sh.; her F, þeyre
 Sh.
— 20. herte A, feelen Sh.
— 23. and with A, a chere Sh.
— 24. trewely A, truwly Sh.
— 25. in hert that they Sh.; han
 swich A.
— 26. seyne Sh.
— 27. list Sh.
— 28. most Sh.
— 29. seyn A, seyne Sh.
— 30. as doth F, Shewen A.
— 31. Whyles . . . lasten A; last
 . . . or Sh.
— 32. and . . . ech F, in euery A.
— 33. al F, yche A.
74/34. ryght as F, As þat A Sh.;
 lyste F, lykith A.
— 35. moot myn herte A; . . .
 herte I prey Sh.
— 38. worde may non A; non astert
 F, thier noon sterte A.</p> | <p>74/39. reson) . . . to F, sholde any
 wight by resun A, reson
 any wight sholde Sh.
— 43. moveth . . . F, women
 mesued of A Sh.
— 44. as þat tho A.
— 45. they graunte F, graunten A,
 Sh.
— 46. that . . . nat F, they nat
 shulden A, that þey shulde
 nat Sh.
— 48. of F, In Sh.; they A, ye F.
— 49. thus A, Sh., and thus F;
 while þees Sh.
— 50. this F, the A Sh.; pot A
 penne F; þus haþe þe
 potte by stele Sh.
— 51. is in his F, of hire hath A.
— 52. kepeth . . . more F, he
 keepith nat A, with her ne
 kepeþe he more Sh.
— 53. after, <i>om.</i> Sh.; fynden A,
 f. owher Sh.
— 55. bestowe so Sh.
— 56. þees men for alle þeyre oopes
 beon harde to leede Sh.
75/59. this woman this traytoure
 Sh., this tr. the w. A.
— 60. faste . . . F, fast him spedeth
 F, spedeth him fast Sh.
— 61. on a lowe F A, ouer throwe
 Sh.
— 62. ne A Sh.
— 63. telleth him Sh.
— 65. to accuse A.
— 66. to . . . selfe F. confesse him
 A; Nowe is þis witte /
 confesse himself thraytour
 Sh.</p> |
|---|--|

75/67. a A.

— 68. tellen how hir body he Sh.;
do F, doon A.— 69. he . . . him F, to him thus
loo Sh.— 70. grete esclaundre F Sh., ful
greet reпреef A; vnto F,
boope to Sh.

— 71. name yet F, nay / yit A.

— 72. vertu F, pitee . . . it A,
goode . . . it Sh.

— 74. inwardes Sh.

— 75. sclaudre F, shame A.

— 76. thanke A, hye thank Sh.

— 77. whiche . . . helpen Sh.

— 78. þat men by sl. A Sh.

— 79. Innocent F, ignorant A.

— 80. ys . . . sith F A, sith ys
Sh.

— 81. as þat A.

— 82. om. the Sh.

76/83. al A Sh.

— 85. Betrayen A Sh.

— „ Citees F A, Resumes Sh.

— 86. is yt . . . shape F, is . . .
shape a A Sh.— 87. Ageynes false & hid A, A.
falsely hidde Sh.— 88. suche F, tho A; craftes F A,
castes Sh.— 89. wytte . . . redy F, wil ay
reedy is A Sh.— 90. thinges that souneþe Sh.;
hy A, hye Sh.

— 91. beth F, be A.

— 92. these F, the A.

— 93. as A Sh.

— 94. they A, þey Sh.

— 96. om. to A.

— 97. guerdoneth he F, him qwyth
A.— 98. lytell wote F, Smal witen A,
l. knowe Sh.— 99. To his felaw an othir wreche
A.

— 100. the hath F, hath thee A.

— 102. desyrid A.

— 106. ride F, ride on Sh.

— 107. whilset Sh.; for, om. A.

77/108. wol F, can A; with-sey F,
sey ney Sh.— 109. smertly F, qwikly A; snak'
A.

— 110. thus these F, so the A.

77/111. so . . . mot F, þat . . . oft
gyled shal Sh.— 112. ay . . . F, For . . . nouel-
lerye Sh.

— 114. self / hyre F, self / here A.

— 115. Repreef of her he spekth A.

— 117. dyuers F, sundry A; oft
maken Sh.— 120. Ful . . . wolde F, For . . .
wolde eke Sh.

— 121. spent his tyme A.

— 123. hyr pleynty F, his lady A.

— 124. and F, or Sh.; had A.

— 127. For euery Sh.

— 129. leiser han A Sh.

78/131. on maddyngelhe . . broght A.

— 132. he shoulde Sh.

— 133. which wymmen loven Sh.

— 134. To F, And Sh.

— 135. too F, To A.

— 136. and in F, For þe Sh.

— 138. yf that F, And if Sh.

— 139. Al inoot he flee þat is to it
A.— 140. his grete F, ther-to A, mans
g. Sh.— 141. A foul vice A, Right foule
it Sh.

— 143. men F, man A Sh.

— 147. these . . . in F, the . . . at
A; beth F, been Sh.

— 148. man . . . a woman Sh.

— 151. and F, al Sh.

— 153. and ful F, al ful Sh.

— 154. that . . . al F, swiche alle A.

79/156. al . . . were F, alle was A.

— 158. al men woot F, men wel
knownen A.

— 159. that F, wheche Sh.

— 161. he that . . . is F, which . . .
is moche Sh.

— 163. yit of hem were goode Sh.

— 164. fynden A; happen men to
fynde Sh.

— 165. good is for teschuwe Sh.

— 166. deeme . . . alle A, deme it
. . . al Sh.— 167. se . . . falsenesse A, se it
. . . f. Sh.

— 168. trusten F A, trust þe Sh.

— 170. hir F, hem Sh.

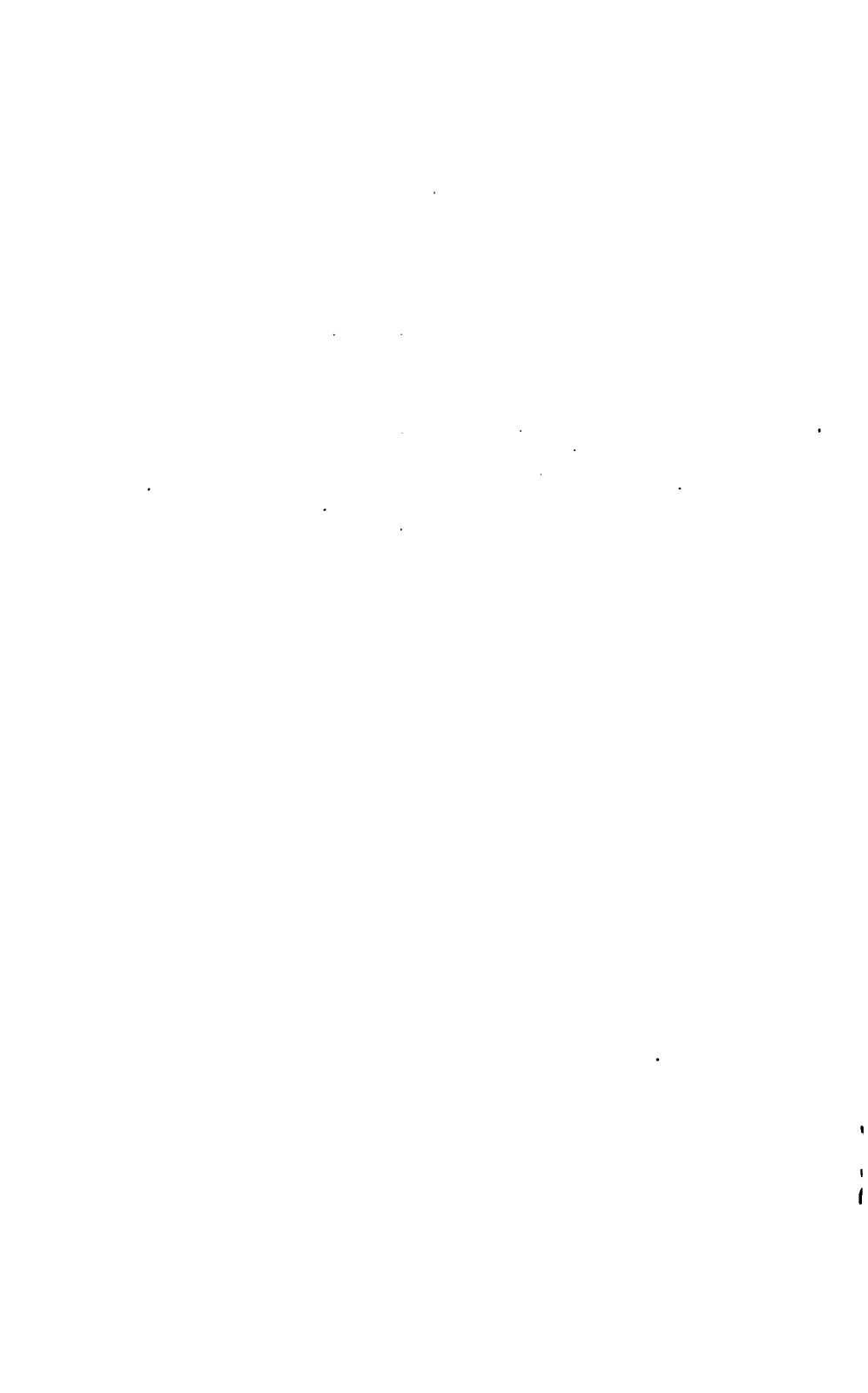
— 171. þe w. hir shap be thikke or
ellys Sh.

— 172. good or badde Sh.

- 79/173. euery m. w. F, For ych wight Sh.
 — 175. ys yt F, haþe he Sh.; shame . . . speke F, shame / speke of hir A.
 — 176. forth F, out Sh.
 — 179. be . . . F, þy M. vnto the bee Sh.
 — 180. thou . . . F, man shal honour þee Sh.
 80/181. hir nat F, nat hire A; And d. t. h. in Sh.
 — 182. by F, thurgh A.
 — 183. ys seyde in oure e. Sh.
 — 184. foule F A, beest Sh.
 — 185. that he F, so it A.
 — 186. vselth F, wont is A.
 — 187. wel . . . F, of wommen wel A.
 — 188. to displesen F, for to despise A Sh; ne F A, and Sh.
 — 189. they wol F Sh., hem list A.
 — 190. These, *om.* A.
 — 191. bokes of hir F, makynge of Sh.
 — 192. dispisen t. w. F, they lakken wommenes A.
 — 194. hem yene A, gyf hem Sh.
 — 196. belowen A.
 — 197. 'Tho F, þeire Sh.; sory F, wikkid A.
 — 200. may F, koude Sh.
 — 201. done . . . F, edoo and yet Sh.
 — 202. the . . . not F, who may hire by malice A; hir F, þeyre Sh.
 — 203. as that theys F, Not the world A, as that the Sh.
 — 205. reprefe F, villanye Sh.
 81/208. a F A, as Sh.
 — 209. or ryme F, ryme A.
 — 210. he F A, þey Sh.
 — 211. hir F A, þeyre Sh.
 — 213. to loue hem ever to Sh.
 — 214. syn F, sithe Sh.
 — 215. They ^u _u A.
 — 216. and, *om.* A; suche . . . wrapped F, sweche . . . trapped Sh.
 — 218. No F, Ye no Sh.; thyse F, þat the A.
 — 219. I do F Sh., do we A.
 81/220. labour and trauaille A.
 — 221. betwixt vs A.
 — 222. noon F, nat A, not Sh.
 — 223. these F, *om.* A; cruel F, outrageous A.
 — 225. my F, our A.
 — 226. ytyed F, Tyd A.
 — 228. ys F, nis Sh.
 — 229. they F, *om.* Sh.
 — 231. me . . . my F, vs . . . our, A.
 82/233. myn F, oure A.
 — 234. I F, We A.
 — 243. þoughe that no w. bee ewhette Sh.
 — 244. persyng . . . how F, strokes how sore A.
 — 245. kerve F, brest Sh.
 — 248. as it is known wyde Sh.
 — 249. man F, men Sh.
 — 251. koude F, come Sh.
 — 256. they F, in herte they A.
 — 257. this F, tho A, so thees, Sh.
 83/258. oon v. and oþer they were, Sh.
 — 259. thise F, the A; often F, wel oft Sh.
 — 260. thise F. *om.* A.
 — 261. weren nat they / A.
 — 262. as weren F, that wern A.
 — 263. this F, thees Sh.
 — 266. worshippe F, honur A.
 — 267. thise F, tho' A.
 — 272. For v. o. he can abyde Sh.
 — 273. a wight F, oon for A, folkes for Sh.
 — 274. this F, the A.
 — 276. wonne F A, conquerd Sh.
 — 278. refreyne F, restreyne A.
 — 282. occupacion F, opynyoun Sh.
 84/285. Aparaylles for to tellen vp Sh.
 — 286. longe F, large Sh.
 — 288. I . . . my F, we . . . our A, „ Nough . . . ne in . . . comprehend Sh.
 — 291. shall soo, Sh.
 — 295. moot yt, Sh.
 — 297. for to . . . whatever Sh.
 — 299. thise F, tho A; feyne F A, scyne Sh.
 — 304. quyt be hir F, þane q. his Sh.
 — 306. this man F, þees men Sh.

- 84/307. hir . . . his F, hem . . .
payre Sh.
— 308. gat him . . . name F, grete
. . . faue Sh.
85/310. wrechch F Sh., man A.
— 311. Vnto Dido whiche Sh.
— 312. sinertys F, greenes A.
— 313. han doon F, do A.
— 315. therof F, of it A.
— 316. my . . . may F, our . . . may
men A, þe . . . may men Sh.
— 318. no . . . F, noon / ne byheste
may men, A.
— 319. repreuable F, reproof ne
of A.
— 320. In herte of man / conceites
trewe and dede A.
" hath F, hath nowe Sh.
— 321. noght F, naght A, barreine
Sh.
" trouthe F A, feyth Sh.
— 322. namely yt is F, / is hir vice
A.
" nat . . . F, ful wel knowe,
Sh.
— 324. a womans F, wommannes
A, þees wymmens Sh.
— 327. No fors . . . no F, Yee /
strab . . . noon A; no F,
lytel Sh.
— 328. kepe wel . . . what so Sh.
— 331. dystroyen no F, ne d. Sh.
86/335. Folke enpoysons / or h. A.
— 339. To t. A, To al thewes, Sh.
— 341. wel . . . a F, so wel kan þe,
Sh.
— 342. softe A, soft Sh.
— 343. be . . . F, been . . . þe
sygne Sh.
— 344. Wommannes h. to A.
— 347. ful amyable Sh.
— 349. hath not thise Sh.
— 350. Ne . . . nat I, Folwyth
nothing A.
— 351. firste A; natheles F A,
neuer þe leese Sh.
— 352. lese his F, to lese hir Sh.
— 354. heestes F A, heest þoo Sh.
— 355. tasten of a F, to ete of the
A, to tasten of þe Sh.
— 356. ne F, nat A.
— 357. deuel . . . ne F, feend been
/ no more she A, feende
ebee n. she Sh.
- 87/358. penyous Sh.
— 360. for to F, to A.
— 361. Eve to deceyve Sh.
— 363. noght F, nat A, nade Sh.
— 365. I sey F, we seyn A; goode
Sh.
— 366. ne F A, she Sh.
— 367. may F, cane Sh.
— 368. þat she F, she þee Sh.
— 369. er F, or A.
— 371. calle . . . no F, may not
calle yt Sh.
— 372. yt F, yt first Sh.
— 374. to demen F, for to deeme A.
— 375. she F A, Eve Sh.; this
harme F Sh., þat gilt A.
— 377. hir F, Eves Sh.
— 379. Touchyng which / A.
— 380. I F, We A.
— 381. that . . . now F, men mowe
A, that men now may Sh.
— 383. This haue A; I F, We A.
88/385. hir hold F, hir holde, A,
holde Eve Sh.
— 391. feende F A, worne Sh.
— 393. this F, þat A Sh.
— 395. sleithes F, sleighes A.
— 396. of F A, hool of Sh.
— 397. from the F, from A Sh.
— 399. him . . . of F A, man . . .
frome Sh.
— 400. to F Sh., fro A.
— 404. that she F A, she cleen Sh.
— 406. hir . . . bore F, hire be
borne A, hir hir be borne
Sh.
— 408. leene F Sh., weyke A.
89/410. preysing F, laude A.
— 411. I sey, F Sh., We Witen A.
— 412. men F, man A Sh.
— 415. that F Sh., it A.
— 416. now . . . good F, it is to
taken A.
— 418. honureth F A, worshipþe
Sh.
— 419. al F, alle A Sh.
— 420. and . . . a F, For . . . oft
Sh.
— 421. O F Sh. om. A.
— 422. blood F A, blood heere Sh.
— 423. I F, We A.
— 424. thou F Sh., O A.
— 425. Ouercam A, In ouerkomyng
Sh.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>89/427. Vn-to the feith of God /
holy virgyne A; of God
A, pou goode Sh.
— 428. I F, We A, þat I Sh.
— 429. by F, Oonly by Sh.
— 430. neuer in my F, nat in one
A, not in my Sh.
— 431. euer werre y F, ay We wer-
rey A, euer I werre Sh.
— 432. lo . . . me F, leeueth wel
ye A.
— 434. remembrance We nat may
A.
90/437. maketh F A, made Sh.
— 440. pardee as w. Sh.
— 442. Womanan F A, Wymmen
Sh.
— 444. for . . . F, holy wryt thus
Sh.; seyeth F, seith A.
— 445. shal . . yt shoule so f. Sh.
— 446. I . . . F Sh, it may preeued
be ther-by A.
— 447. stable F, al the A.
— 448. the F, al A, om. Sh.</p> | <p>90/451. tolde F Sh., is nat told A.
— 452. or F, ne Sh.
— 455. hir F, þeyre Sh.
— 457. digne . . . noble F Sh., noble
is / and worthy A; in
F A, of Sh.
— 458-60. he F Sh., she A.
91/461. vertu A.
— 463. wol . . c. F, thus we wolen
conclude A; we F A,
yee Sh.
— 464. yow F A, wol Sh.
— 466. thise F, tho A.
— 467. punisshement A.
— 469. in F, ynne A; more F, om.
A; come more F, retourne
Sh.
— 471. that Sh.
— 472. the ayer F, their A, þeyre
Sh.
— 473. Million F A, legyoun Sh.
— 476. and . . . and F A, foure h.
yeres and Sh.</p> |
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III.

JERESLAUS'S WIFE, p. 140-178.

Some Various Readings from MS. Reg. 17 D 6, leaf 99 &c.

- 140/1. actes D, leestes R.
 — 2. Whilom D, Somtyme R.
 — 3. Iereslaus D, Gerelaus R.
 — 6. Vngarie D, Hungerye R.
 — 15. foorth wole I D, wole I forth R.
 — 16. bed D, bedde R.
 — 17. gan in him D, in hym gan R.
 — 19. left R.
 — 24. hyde fro thee D, from the hide R.
 — 25. Ne nat D. Nor not R.
 141/27. for thy D, therefore R.
 — 32-3. al . . . smal D, att, smatt R.
 — 39. longe to D, long to. I R.
 — 40. abood D, abode R.
 — 44. syn D, sithen R.
 — 53. hire D, to hir R.
 — 54. kiste . . . farewel D, left . . . now farewele R.
 — 55. nat dreedith D, drede not R.
 142/57. and D, the R.
 — 59. the boke kan not R.
 — 61. kepe R, kepte D; R om. out.
 143/86. þat D, no R.
 — 88. R alters this line and puts it for 91.
 — 95. Truste wele it. none other it R.
 — 97. hir, whan he fonde R.
 — 99. sy D, sawe R.
 — 100. Nat . . . stynte D, And that he ne stynte wold R.
 — 102. thempire D, the Empire R.
 — 108. thempire D, this Empire R.
 143/109-10. al . . . shal D, att . . . shatt R.
 — 111. vnhad . . . bad D, not hadde . . . badde R.
 144/122. it . . . is D, it is wele knownen R.
 — 125. vs warante and avowe R.
 — 127. doutith D, dredeth R.
 — 131. anoon areest D, areste anone R.
 — 136. Then thought he thus R.
 145/139. vttrily shatt I R.
 — 144. hye R, hy D.
 — 154. & D, & my R.
 — 156. of . . . deeth D, on myscheuous deeth to R.
 — 163. yf that I wish R.
 146/172. often it happeth. that womans R.
 — 175. did grete hurin R.
 — 180. now D, goode R.
 — 181. ryde foorth D, now rideth R.
 — 187. sue D, folwe R.
 — 194. shoop D, shope R.
 147/199. ago . . . syn D, ferne agone. . . sithen R.
 — 203. be doon D, I do R.
 — 212. But my lords the Emperour R.
 — 224. help at al D, other helpe R.
 148/225. manaces D, manace ne R.
 — 226. Koth she. of the R.
 — 229. þat this for D, this for an R.
 — 232. left al D, withouten more R.
 — 240. blusted D, blasted R.

- 148/245. amen R, D. *om.*
 — 246. false D, thou fals R.
 — 248. willy to D, willyng to do R.
 — 250. the D, and worthy R.
 — 251. O foule enemye R.
 149/258. bettidde Reg., betid D.
 — 259. kidde Reg., hid D.
 — 263. I . . . and þat with bold D.
 I wote wele with bolde R.
 — 265. go D, ayein go Reg.
 — 266. forth telt D, telle forth R.
 — 267. þat . . . had D, she so hade R.
 — 269. Erl D, Erle R.
 — 271. blyue D, fult blive R.
 — 279. the D, this R.
 — 280. quod D, koth R.
 150/281. ferre R, fer D.
 — 297. þat thee list D, the luste to R.
 — 307. the D, this R.
 — 308. hire aftir D, after, hir R.
 151/310. lay therl D, as lay the Erle R.
 — 313. was . . . This D, Was this R.
 — 315. good . . . reft D, goode . . . bereft R.
 — 320. herte D, hert to R.
 — 322. holde D, holden R.
 — 324. shal D, may R.
 — 325-6. wilt D, wolt R.
 — 328. sy D, sawe R.
 — 330. fro . . . foorth D, bisily R.
 152/338. bed . . . þat D, bedde . . . where as R.
 — 340. purposid D, purpos and R.
 — 361. him D, he hym R.
 153/366. þat D, that. that R.
 — 370. bed D, bedde R.
 — 371. bybled D, forbledde R.
 — 381. now no lenger R.
 — 383. slayn D, slayn (so in 380) R.
 — 392. that it not so were R.
 154/394. In the D, In aft the R.
 — 396. namely / & D, and namely R.
 — 403. He to hir spak R.
 — 409. he deceyued D, deceyued he R.
 — 413. qwit hast D, hast quytte R.
 — 414. walke forth R.
 — 422. for shce had seide R.
 155/430. broke R.
 — 442. saue D, to saue R.
 156/455. foot D, fete R. [leaf 107]
 — 457. Whidir D, Wherto R.
 — 460. longe his lady fro R.
 — 461. agayn D, ayein R.
 — 466. how D, that R.
 — 467. shap . . . eek D, and shap . . . and R.
 157/475. & D, nor R.
 — 477. fer D, ferre R.
 — 480. of . . . ne D, or . . . or R.
 — 485. can D, kun R.
 — 490. her . . . thogh D, is her nature and yit R.
 — 494. chaunge wole. lest it myght hurt R.
 — 499. this D, that R.
 158/509. ga D, go R.
 — 510. Vnto my ladyes In. for she R.
 — 521. heere y D, I here R.
 — 526. he seide D, koth he R.
 159/535. wilt so D, wolt now R.
 — 544. in no weertee R.
 — 558. to thyn owne D, vnto thy R.
 160/569. Take goode hecde therof R.
 — 570. thow D, right R.
 — 571. he than goode. hens forto R.
 — 572. Elles aft thy labour may the R.
 — 573. For I wole lede. hir home R.
 — 579. Thow hast hade or this R.
 — 583. yeue D, and yeve me R.
 — 586. had . . . deucl D, hade . . . fend R.
 161/590. clothes . . . his D, his clothes out of the R.
 — 591. to bye D, forto bey R.
 — 597. Syn þat D, Sithen R.
 — 609. this best is D, this is best R.
 — 616. hire he to the ship D, he to the shipman hir R.
 162/626. maad . . . I D, haue I made R.
 — 627. That there shaft neuer man. so R.
 — 628. thyng . . . outake D, no thyng . . . saue R.
 — 632. wel D, this R.
 — 634. middes D, the myddes R.
 — 643. the D, your R.
 163/656. and gan anone R.

- 163/657. she D, and R.
 — 658. Made she. as I shaft to you
 reherce R.
 — 664. deitee D, dignitee R.
 164/675. fil D, shope R.
 — 683. Where. the ladyes R.
 — 689. yaf . . . a D, shope and yafe
 suche R.
 165/703. told haue D, haue tolde R.
 — 712. roop D, rope R.
 — 713. Potagre D, Potakir R.
 — 725. qwyte . . . D, wole you
 quyte R.
 — 726. swich D, suche R.
 — 728. ye shaft it bey fult soure.
 166/732. herd D, herd R.
 — 735. hele wel D, weht hele R.
 — 741. they . . . D, and they haste
 R.
 — 746. deuoutly D, denoutely R.
 167/757. The Abbesse hir made.
 approche his hye pre-
 sence R.
 — 758. hid D, couered R.
 — 767. about D, aboute R (therē).
 — 771. That was the knyght. the
 theef. and the shipman
 R.
 — 777. dirke D, grete R.
 — 782. Be cured. tett on) R.
 — 784. is . . . D, it is. to perseuere.
 168/785. For the fourme R.
 — 795. hool D, hole R.
 — 798. Telle out D, Sey on) R.
 — 803. I . . . D, mercy I you R.
 — 807. he thoughte D, thought he R.
 — 811. þat D, euer R.
 169/813. And how he . . . hade be-
 traide R.
 — 817. been vnþayed D, be delaide
 R.
 — 831. him wolde D, it wold him R.
 — 832. mis D, lakke R.
 170/841. purpos D, tale R.
 — 842. thow dem. D, and demony-
 ake R.
 — 847. han . . . D, the grounde
 haue R.
 — 848. sharp D, sharpe R.
 — 852. confesse D, to confesse R.
 — 863. And betooke hir. the charge
 and the cure R.
 — 864. a D, his R.
 — 866. there a mis D, a wikked R.

- 171/872. euere D, ay R.
 — 873. vnto . . . D, to my luste nor
 R.
 — 878. the D, this R.
 — 881. And thynke. that no wight
 elles R.
 — 882. this D, that R.
 — 889. Whan that I for my gilte R.
 — 893. of D, for R.
 — 895. where I dede shuld haue
 be R.
 — 896. lyf D, gilt R.
 172/897. as D, was R.
 — 898. hy D, hir R.
 — 900. Betraide I hir R.
 — 901. him . . . D, Shope hym . . .
 delavee R.
 — 902. fer D, forthe R.
 — 904. a . . . I D, a faire gentilt
 lady I R.
 — 906. haue hire D, hir haue R.
 — 912. haf . . . claf D, hafe . . .
 clafe R.
 — 923. On . . . seide D, On curteys
 height. right R.
 173/925. haue of me D, taken R.
 — 927. seeknesse . . . his D, desese
 . . . her R.
 — 939. wrecche D, man R.
 — 941. kus D, cosse R.
 — 946. Inow thus D, is at an R.
 — 947. vnto his Paleys D, to his
 paleys goth R.
 — 948. good. lady the Emperice.
 with hym gan wende R.
 — 949. lyneden D, ledde her lyfe R.
 — 950. his D, the R.
 — 952. list D, wole R.
 MS. Reg. 17 D vi. leaves out page
 174.
 175/16. the rather D, the r. and the
 sonner R.
 — 17. scripture D, writte R.
 — 22. & inakyng D, þat maken R.
 — 27. whereof D, wherfore R.
 176/14. hukyng D, Wirkyng R.
 — 30. soule wole D, soules wolen R.
 177/4. vp so doun D, bakward R.
 — 26. the feend D, þis world R.
 — 34. torned D, turneth R.
 178/2. infest D, effect R.
 178. R. has in margin 'Discipulus.
 Cum omnes homines n.
 a. d . . .'

- | | |
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| 178/15. so D, to R.
179/23. lerne to dye R.
— 33. But telle me this. herof wold
I lere R.
— 34. R adds to Latin 'moriendi
cum mors mon habitus
set priuacio esse nos-
catur.'
— 38. swetnesse D, richesse R. | 179/41. me D, me so R.
— 45. ay. wote he fultt wett R.
180/54. hire D, hym R.
— 57. many oon D, hym R.
— 72. led away D, away hane ledde
R.
— 74. vnto . . holde D, to that lord
yhold R. |
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(*Collation incomplete.*)

GLOSSARY.

BY MR. THOMAS AUSTIN.

- Aart, *sb.* art, 13/150, 26/32.
 Abiect, *pp.* cast off, 222/199.
 Abstinence, *sb.* putte in a., forbear from, 154/406
 Acat, acate, *sb.* purchase, 31/181, 70/100.
 Accomplice, *vb. t.* accomplish, 152/341.
 Adawid, *pp.* adawed, awakened, 153/369.
 Affese, *vb. t.* scare, 233/482.
 Affesid, *pp.* scared, 229/379.
 Affoorthe, *vb. t.* bestow, 217/46.
 Ageyn, *prep.* before, in presence of, 166/745.
 Aght, aught, 22/440, 82/252.
 Agilt, *vb. int.* sin, 69/64, a-gylte, 108/366; *v. t.* sin against, 17/270, 168/804.
 Agrysid, *pp.* terrified, 196/476.
 Alleggen, *vb. t.* alleviate, 6/198.
 All halwen day, *sb.* All Souls' Day (Nov. 1), 212/926.
 Almesse, *sb.* alms, 194/424.
 Amonestyng, *sb.* warning, 208/820.
 Apalle, *vb. int.* slacken, 98/74.
 Appert, *adj.* apert, open, 33/270.
 Arettist, *vb. t.* imputest, layest, 12/113.
 Arghnesse, *sb.* timidity, reluctance, 38/435.
 Arte, *vb.* compel, constrain, 37/396, 62/8.
 Aspen, *adj.* trembling, 63/17.
 Asseeth, *sb.* expiation, penance, 196/482.
 Assoill, *vb. t.* grant, 222/182.
 Atake, *vb.* overtake, 148/239.
 Attame, *vb. t.* atame, subdue, 10/45.
 Attæ = at the, 195/460, 196/486.
 Attempre, *adj.* temperate, 40/13.
 Auriculeer, *adj.* auricular, 11/81.
 Aweertee, *sb.* cautiousness, O. Fr. *averti*, 159/544.
 Baar, *vb. t.* bare, 8/241.
 Bake, *sb.* back, 29/127.
 Bapteeme, *sb.* baptism, 9/38.
 Bayte, *vb. t.* refresh, 15/206.
 Beer, *vb. t.* bare, *imp. tense*, 1/44.
 Begilt, *pp.* ? deluded, 192/372.
 Begone, *pp.* well b., prosperous, 95/11; *wers* begoon, worse beset, 231/445; *comp.* woe-begone.
 Bete, *vb. t.* beat; 'bete this pavyment' (pavement), 102/186. *Compare* Fr. *battre le pavé*.
 Bille, *sb.* bill of a bird, 44/42.
 Bit, *vb.*, bad, 34/280, 229/376.
 Blent, *pp.* blinded, 225/280.
 Blyue, *adv.* quickly, 4/125, 34/280.
 Bobance, *sb.* boasting, 190/321.
 Bolue, *vb. int.* swell, rise, 172/913.
 Bolnyng, *pp.* bolning, swelling, 10/49.
 Boncheef, *sb.* good fortune, prosperity, 221/172.
 Bote, *sb.* cure, 97/49.
 Brede, *sb.* in b., abroad, 10/70.
 Breeth, *sb.* breath, 2/80.
 Breid, *sb.* braid, attack, 182/115.
 Brid, *sb.* bird, 80/184.
 Brigge, *sb.* bridge, boat-stairs, 31/194: *cp.* 'y' Quenes bredge' and 'Freny bredge' at Westminster, in Braun and Hogenberg's map of 1572.
 Broke, *sb.* brook, 100/152.
 Brydillees, *adj.* brideless, 27/78.
 Brygelees, *adj.* brigueless, without dispute, 13/164.

- Bukkyshe, *adj.* flighty, skittish, unsettled, 99/123.
 But, *conj.* unless, 27/57, 190/326.
 Bybled, *pp.* bebled, bloody, 7/230.
 Bye, *vb. t.* aby, pay for, suffer for, 165/728.
 Byheete, *vb. int.* promise, 226/302, 238/625.
 Bykneew, *vb. t.* confessed, 238/634.
 Bymeneth, *vb. t.* bemoan, bewail, *imper.* 7/231.
 Bynome, *pp.* of *benim*, taken away from, 6/189.
 Bytake, *vb. t.* hand over, 156/452.

 Calate, *sb. f.* drab, quean, 13/147.
 Cape, *vb. int.* gape, A., 191/350.
 Careyne, *sb.* carcass, O. Fr. *caroine*, 189/306.
 Cast, *sb.* intention, 191/348.
 Cheertee, *chiertee*, *sb.* affection, 22/433, 40/21, 137/777, 205/710, 219/87; comfort, 48/32.
 Chek, *sb.* check, at chess, 184/161.
 Chepe, *vb. t.* buy, 216/13.
 Cheuice, *vb.* provide, provide for, 28/101, 34/285.
 Cheuisseance, *sb.*, achievement, comp. *vb.* *cheuis*, Cursor M. l. 8329, 132/621.
 Chinchy, *adj.* niggard, 29/136.
 Chyldly, *adj.* childly, childish, 27/64.
 Citein, *sb.* citizen; comp. Fr. *citoyen*, 202/627.
 Clappe, *vb.* chatter, 21/396, 37/394, 40/37, 127/489.
 Clee, *sb.* claw, 191/345.
 Clight, *pp.* clenched, 182/124.
 Cloudeful, *adj.* cloudy, dark, black, 55/109.
 Cokir, *sb.* high-low, 190/312.
 Combreworldes, *sb.* cumberworlds, useless mortals, 32/225.
 Conpleyne, *vb. t.* complain of, blame, Fr. *se plaindre*, 36/342, 57/17.
 Conceitless, *adj.* ignorant, 232/458.
 Conpaignie, *sb.* company, attendants, companionship, 149/260, 151/329, 164/683.
 Compassid, *vb.* compassed, devised, 151/330.

 Conpel, *vb. t.* compel, 26/30.
 Conpleyne, pity, Fr. *plaindre*, 36/341.
 Conpunct, *pp.* touched with compunction, 199/562.
 Constance, *sb.* constancy, Fr. *constance*, 157/488.
 Cotidian, *adj.* quotidian, daily, Lnt. *quotidianus*, 26/25.
 Couyne, *sb.* scoundrelism, 9/21. 'Il en sçait bien toute la courine. Hee is well acquainted with thine packing; he knows full well how the matter hath beene carried.' 1611. Cotgrave.
 Cristientee, *sb.* Christendom, O. Fr. *crestienté*, 156/453.
 Crois, *sb.* cross, Fr. *croix*, 5/149.
 Cure, *sb.* care, heed, 81/219.

 Daswed, *pp.* dazed, 57/9.
 Deceyuable, *adj.* deceitful, 237/590.
 Deeth, *sb.* death, 5/162.
 Delauee, *adj.* O. Fr. *deslavé*; washed away (Cotgrave), loose, lawless, 172/901.
 Deliure, *vb. t.* deliver, 154/412, 161/590.
 Demoniak, *sb.* one possessed with a devil, 170/843.
 Depraue, *vb. t.* speak ill of, scandal, slander, 30/171.
 Dere, *vb. t.* hurt, harm, 107/348.
 Dereworthe, *adj.* precious, 195/448, 197/498.
 Deskeuere, *vb.* discover, let out, 150/283.
 Despende, *vb. t.* dispend, expend, spend, 8/244, 38/415, 187/239.
 Dispense, *sb.* dispense, laying out, liberality, 36/342.
 Desteyned, *pp.* sullied, 36/340.
 Dever, *sb.* devoir, duty, 158/531.
 Dewynge, *sb.* dewing, moistening, 5/158.
 Deynouse, *adj.* proud, 78/150.
 Diadeeme, *sb.* diadem, 15/232.
 Do foorth, keep on, 41/15.
 Doel, *sb.* dole, pity, O. Fr. *doel*, Fr. *deuil*, 5/153.
 Doghtir, *sb.* daughter, 150/296, 152/339.
 Dokke, *vb. t.* cut off, kill, 159/541.
 Dotepol, *sb.* dodipoll, fool, 217/49.

- Doublesse, *sb.* deception, 73/21, 237/590.
 Dreche, *vb.* vex, 106/308.
 Dress, *dresse*, *vb. t.* direct, bend, 160/588, 164/691, 210/856.
 Drye, *vb. t.* suffer, 196/474.
 Doumb, *adj.* Prov:—'the doumb man, no lond getith,' i. e. one must speak, if one wants anything, 38/433.
 Dyuyse, *vb.* devise, 24/511.
 Eerly, *adv.* early, 31/180, 62/21.
 Eerthe, *sb.* earth, 3/106, 5/148, 22/428.
 Eerthely, *adj.* earthly, 17/292, 297, 200/586.
 Egal, *adj.* equal, Fr. *egal*, 5/168; *egall*, 115/156.
 Eilid, *vb.* ailed, 9/25.
 Enable, *vb. t.* make fit for, 17/272.
 Enchantour, *sb.* enchanter, deceiver, 32/225.
 Enchesoun, *sb.* cause, reason, O. Fr. *encheson*, 48/18, 64/61, 89/429.
 Enhabit, *vb. t.* set as inhabitant, 17/280.
 Ensampl, *vb. t.* give example to, 66/64, 131/604.
 Ensele, *vb. t.* enseal, seal, 234/516.
 Entaille, *sb.* entail, intaglio, 21/410.
 Entailid, *pp.* unalterably attached, 157/488.
 Enteer, *adj.* entire, 50/29.
 Eschu, *adj.* shy, O. Fr. *eschui*, 21/403.
 Eschue, *vb. t.* avoid, O. Fr. *eschever*, 6/193, 14/192, 32/216.
 Esmaye, *vb. t.* dismay, 207/774.
 Estaat, *sb.* estate, 38/430.
 Estren, *sb.* Easter, 175/25.
 Euenhede, *sb.* evenness, fairness, 177/3.
 Exaltat, *pp.* exalted, 237/592.
 Exaudicioun, *sb.* pardon (i. e. God hearing him), 44/30.
 Exitynge, *sb.* exciting, urging, 118/234.
 Fallace, *sb.* outrage, O. Fr. *fallace*, 150/283, 226/298.
 Fauel, *sb.* flattery, O. Fr. *favel*, 31/211, 32/223, 33/244.
 Fawe, *adj.* fain, 182/124, 235/549.
 Feendly, *adj.* fiendly, devilish, 149/253, 152/340.
 Feere, *in*, in company, together, 229/371.
 Felawshipe, *sb.* fellowship, company, retinue, 148/239.
 Femel, *adj.* female, Fr. *femelle*, 216/13.
 Ferdful, *adj.* fearful, timid, 46/47.
 Fern, *adv.* far, long, 31/196, 147/199.
 Fet, *pp.* fetched, 203/663.
 Feyntier, *sb.* appeaser, stayer, 52/12.
 Feynyngly, *adv.* feigningly, 191/359.
 Ficche, *vb. t.* fix, 40/9, 46/72, 53/46.
 Flaumbes, *sb.* flames, O. Fr. *flambe*, 197/513, 204/699.
 Foleie, foleye, *vb. int.* act foolishly, be stupid, play the fool, 49/47, 50/46, 163/651.
 Foltyshe, *adj.* foolish, 104/243, 115/147.
 Folwe, *vb. t.* follow, 68/23.
 Foreward, *sb.* bargain, 230/405.
 Forthynke, *vb.* repent, 239/652.
 Forthoghte, *vb. t.* repented, 10/59.
 Forueye, *vb. int.* go out of the path, stray, Fr. *fourvoyer*, 49/44, 69/79.
 Fourneys, *sb.* furnace, Fr. *fournaise*, 196/493.
 Foryite, *vb. t.* forget, 134/672.
 Foyoun, *sb.* foison, abundance, Fr. *foison*, 8/244, 10/71.
 Franesie, *sb.* frenzy, Fr. *frénésie*, 165/715.
 Freend, *sb.* friend, 26/46.
 Fretynge, *adj.* fretting, vexing, 213.
 Frete, *vb. int.* fret, devour, 239/661.
 Fructifie, *vb. int.* be fruitful, 178/17.
 Fructuous, *adj.* fruitful, 57/11.
 Fyn, *sb.* fine, end, Fr. *fin*, 2/59.
 Fynt, *vb.* find, 180/68.
 Gabbe, *vb. int.* lie, comp. O. Fr. *gaber*, 159/540.
 Galwe tree, *sb.* gibbet, 155/436; *galwes*, 171/7.
 Gaste, *vb. t.* aghast, frighten, 200/597.
 Gastful, *adj.* ghastly, dreadful, 203/669, 204/687.
 Gastness, *sb.* fearful state, 44/27.
 Genterie, *sb.* gentleness, kindness, courtesy, 164/684.

Gere, *sb.* gear, 13/159.
 Girt, *pp.* thurgh g., struck through, 230/388.
 Gleede, *sb.* glede, glowing coal, 30/159.
 Gole, *sb.* al thy gole — ? all that is in thy mouth, Fr. *gueule*, 159/545.
 Goos, *sb.* goose; Prov. 'shoo the goos,' 19/337. *Ferrer les oyes.* To spend both time and labour verie vainly. 1611. Cotgrave.
 Gouvernail, *sb.* governance, 150/300.
 Gouverneresse, *sb. f.* governess, 150/298.
 Graine, *vb. t.* vex, 43/57.
 Grede, *vb. t.* cry for, 47/109; call, 50/36, 116/173.
 Gree, *sb.* recompense, O.Fr. *gre*, 204/694.
 Greeuable, *adj.* grievous, 182/111.
 Greeues, *sb.* griefs, 3/90.
 Grownde, *vb. t.* ground, base (as groundwork), 66/46.
 Grype, *vb. t.* grip, get, 104/265.
 Gye, *vb. t.* guide, 6/207, 53/49, 155/433.
 Haan, *han*, *vb.* have, 3 *sing.* 197/523, 198/524-7.
 Haast, *vb.* hast, 7/211, 8/7, 192/372.
 Haaste, *vb. int.* haste, 31/208, 166/741, 190/330.
 Haf, *vb. int.* heaved, 172/912.
 Hulke, *sb.* recess, 20/382; dirke halke of Helle, 23/478; 100/133.
 Hals, *sb.* neck, 165/712.
 Hawe, *sb.* haw, 'not worth an h.' (used like straw), trifle, 37/380, 67/20.
 Heedlynge, *adv.* headlong, hastily, 133/647.
 Heeng, *vb. int.* hung, 149/274, 164/696.
 Heer, *sb.* hair, 170/860.
 Heetith, *vb. t.* promise. 68/40.
 Helply, *adj.* helping, 197/508.
 Hente, *vb. t.* seize, 203/675.
 Heolly, *hoolly*, *adv.* wholly, 3/109, 112.
 Herkne, *vb. t.* hearken to, 179/22.
 Herne, *sb.* nook, recess, 20/382.
 Hertly, *adj.* hearty, 72/7.

Hidles, *in*, secretly, slyly, Fr. *en tapinois*, covertly, closely, secretly (Cotgrave), 202/645.
 Hokir, *sb.* scorn, 136/741, 189/310. The gloss has app. 'loathsomeness,' in last case.
 Honure, *vb. t.* honour, 21/412.
 Housbonde, *vb. t.* husband, 68/24.
 In, *sb.* house, dwelling, 156/458, 158/513.
 Incomparablély, *adv.* incomparably, 6 syll., 187/257.
 Inne, *vb. t.* take in, house, 156/459, 469.
 Impudence, *sb.* shamelessness, 27/62.
 Issynge, *sb.* issuing, exit, comp. O.Fr. *isser*, 202/629.
 Kakele, *vb. int.* cackle, chatter, 12/148.
 Keepe, *vb. int.*, heed, reck; *weepe*, A.; 185/183.
 Kerfe, *sb.*, wake of ship, 185/203.
 Kneew, *vb.* knew, 26/44.
 Knyf, *sb.* leyd his k., set his knife by me, sat by me, 28/112.
 Konnynge, *adj.* clever, skilful, 166/732.
 Kus, *sb.* kiss, 2/75, 30/155, 173/941.
 Kut, *sb.* luck, lot (bit of cut stick), 138/789: 'the cut fil to the Knight.'—Cant. Tales, Prol. 845.
 Kythe, *vb. t.* make known, bestow, show, 4/120, 38/406, 42/42, 81/224.
 Laach, *adj.*, lax, O. Fr. *lasche*, Fr. *lâche*, 188/267.
 Labbe, *sb.* blab, blabber, 159/542.
 Lache, *vb. int.* be lax, or remiss, 191/362.
 Laddre, *sb.* ladder: charity the ladder to heaven, 8/1.
 Lagh, *sb.* scot, score, 65/33.
 Lame, *adj.* lacking, wanting, 10/47, 70/90.
 Large, *adj.* liberal, Fr. *large*, 40/16; 'at our large,' in freedom, 43/8.
 Leautee, *sb.* good faith, O. Fr. *leaute*, 212/922.
 Leene, *adj.* lean, poor, 88/408.
 Leepre, *sb.* leprosy, 166/740, 167/763.

- Leepre, *sb.* leper, 164/698.
 Let seen, *interj.* let us see! come!
 66/64, 211/883.
 Lewde as an asse, ignorant as an
 ass, 19/352.
 Light, *sb.* 'stand in own l.', *fig.*
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 Lightlees, *adj.* lightless, unenlight-
 ened, 28/88.
 Liuree, *sb.* livery, 'of St. George's
 l.' a true knight, 42/54.
 Loken, *pp.* closed, locked, 151/334.
 Lokir, *sb.* locker, 190/313.
 Loos, *sb.* praise, reputation, O. Fr.
los, 36/345, 157/494.
 Los, *sb.* loss, 173/945.
 Losengeour, *sb.* losenger, flatterer,
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 Lowe, *sb.* flame, 75/61, 204/703.
 Lyme, *vb.* *t.* lime with birdlime,
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 Lyn, *vb.* *int.* lie, 5/157.
 Lyte, *adj.* lite, little, 21/400; 'a
 lyte and lyte,' by little and little,
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 Maad, *pp.* made, 9/17; 'maad hath
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Faire barbe de foarre à. To de-
 ceive, delude, abuse. 1611. Cot-
 grave.
 Macche, *sb.* match, 34/307.
 Madde, *vb.* *int.* act madly, 232/453.
 Mafey, *interj.* Bless me! Fr. *Ma foi*,
 O. Fr. *Ma foi*, 111/41.
 Maistrie, *sb.* mastery, masterpiece,
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 164/676.
 Maistrieth, *vb.* masters, overcomes,
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 Make, *sb.* mate, companion, 74/57.
 Manly, *adj.* human, like a man,
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 Maugree, *sb.* ill-will, blame, 138/795;
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 Meermaide, *sb.* mermaid, 32/236.
 Mees, *sb.* messuages, O. F. *mès*,
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 Mesel, *adj.* leper, metaph., 168/797.
 Meselrie, *sb.* leprosy, metaph., see
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 Outrance, *sb.* lust gasp, 2/82, 42/36, 68/48.
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 Picchid, *pp.* thrown, 206/700.
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 Plenteuous, *adj.* plentiful, 158/507.
 Possid, *pp.* pushed, 204/701.
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 Pouert, *sb.* poverty, 177.
 Pows, *sb.* pulse, Fr. *poule*, 203/660.
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 Preciouste, *sb.* preciousity, value, costliness, 187/241, 207/783.
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 Rere, *vb. t.* rear, raise, 20/388.
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 Rode, *sb.* road, 76/102.
 Rogged, *vb. int.* shook, pulled roughly, comp. Sc. *rug*, 162/355.
 Rood, *vb. int.* rode, 149/268.
 Roop, *sb.* rope, 165/712.
 Roost, *sb.* roast, 36/363.
 Rowne, *vb.* round, whisper, 11/93.
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- Sad, *adj.* settled, firm, 123/366.
 Saddle, *vb. int.* get sober, 222/175.
 Salut, *adj.* safe, 59/22.
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 Sauf, *prep.* save, 154/405.
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 Shamely, *adv.* in a shameful way, 2/84.
 Sheelde, *vb.* shield, preserve, 165/711.
 Sheete, *vb. t.* shoot, 58/15.
 Shenshipe, *sb.* blame, punishment, 44/35.
 Shippe, *sb.* coin stamped with ship, noble = 6s. 8d., 65/29.
 Shipbord, *sb.* shipboard, 162/617.
 Shit, *pp.* shut, 13/151.
 Shone, *vb. t.* shun, 6/193.
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 Slow, *sb.* slough (of heresy), 11/105.
 Smerte, *adj.* smart, painful, 3/90.
 Snake, *sb.* snack, 77/109.
 Soleyn, *adj.* solitary, morose, sullen, 136/742.
 Soonde, *sb.* dispensation, 128/522.
 Sorrer, *adv.* sorer, more sorely, 16/263.
 Souffyse, *vb. int.* suffice, 14/180, 37/400.
 Soul, *adj.* sole, 177.
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 Spectacle, *sb.* pair of spectacles, or eye-glass, 21/417, 51/57.
 Speek, *vb. int.* spake, 1/43.
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 Staf, *sb.* staff, comp. staff of life, 172/915.
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 Steerne, *adj.* stern, 54/82.
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 Stinte, *vb. int.* stay, cease, 107/336.
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 Suppo[rt]aille, *sb.* support, 59/18.
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To and to, *adv.* backwards and forwards, about, 96/30.

Torne, *sb.* turn (good or bad), 236/575.

Trecherie, *sb.* trickery; *Fr.* *tricherie*, 53/48.

Treewe, *adj.* true, 34/277.

Triacle, *sb.* treacle, theriac, 70/110, 113/93.

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Triwe, *adj.* true, 79/163.

Turn, *sb.* tourney, 24/505.

Twyn, *sb.* twine, 45/71.

Twyne, twynne, *vb.* *int.* separate, depart, 35/318, 185/183.

Twynned, *pp.* twinned, separated, 8/8.

Vengeable, *adj.* revengeful, 153/386.

Viserly, *adj.* ? vizor- or vizard-like, projecting, horrible, 203/678.

Vudirnome, *pp.* rebuked, 126/455.

Vndisposed, vndisposid, *adj.* unprepared for, 184/181, 196/474, 200/590.

Vnbad, *pp.* not had, unobtained, 143/111.

Vnmeeble, *adj.* unmovable (of real property), 219/99.

Vnnethes, *adv.* scarcely, 163/666.

Vnreke, unfold, 117/197.

Vnsad, *adj.* unsettled, 104/255.

Vnstoken, *pp.* unstocked, unbarred, 151/333.

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Waar, *vb.* *int.* beware, 11/88.

Waaat, *sb.* waste, 36/371.

Wafre, *sb.* wafer, biscuit, 29/146.

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Walwid, *pp.* wallowed, 18/318.

Warie, *vb.* *t.* execrate, curse, 27/63.

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Wildhede, *vb.* wildhood, wild ways, 112/52.

Wit, *sb.* wisdom, 99/115.

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Y-plight, *pp.* plucked, 173/928.

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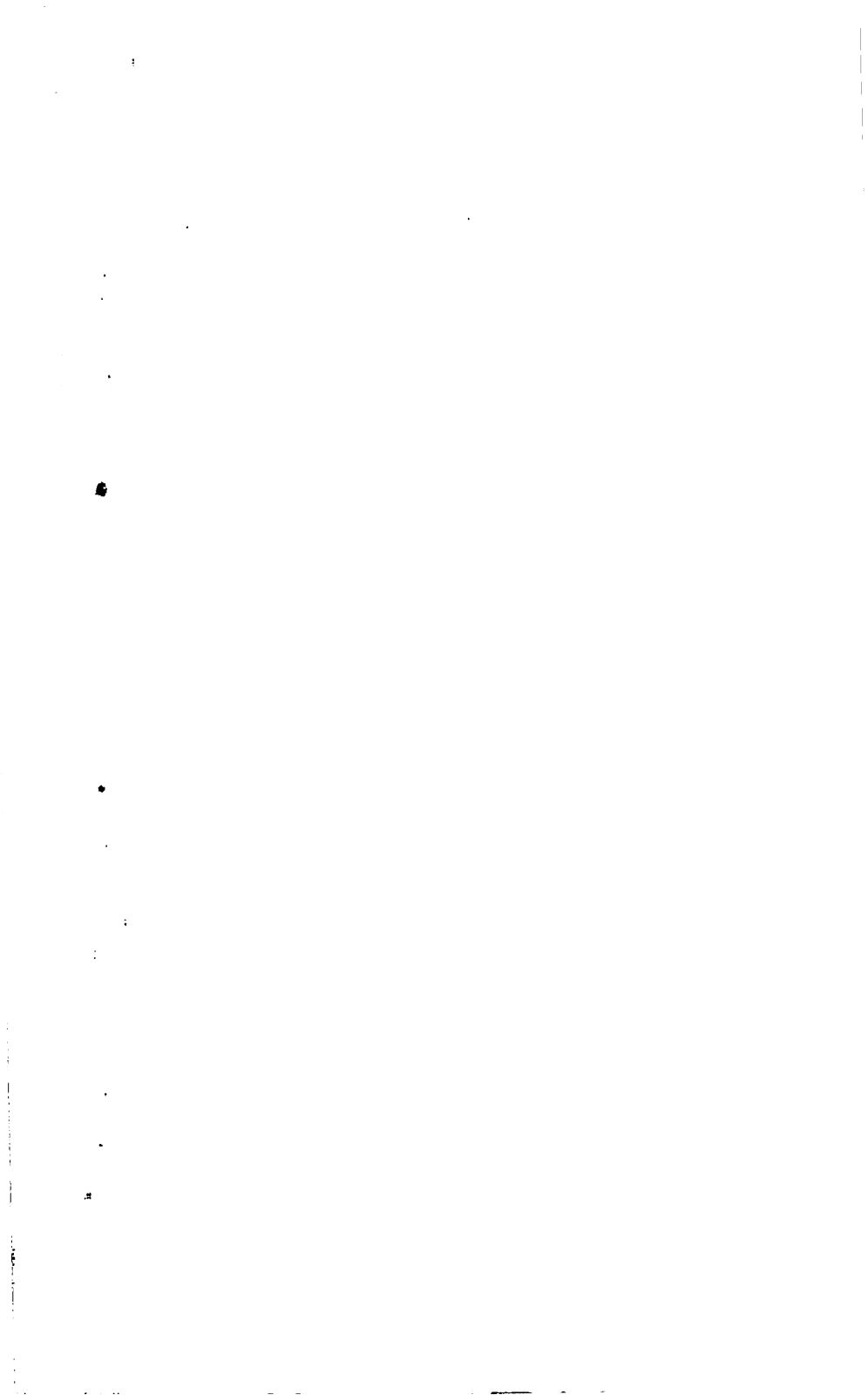
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